





I L I A D

OF

HOMER.

Translated by

ALEXANDER POPE, Esq;

Te sequor, O Graiæ gentis Dècus! inque tuis nunc Fixa pedum pono pressis vestigia signis:

Non ita certandi cupidus, quam propter amorem,

Quòd te imitari aveo — Lucret.

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For T. Oslerne, C. Hitch and L. Hawes, John Riv R. Baldwin, W. Johnston, J. Richardson, S. Crow Davey and B. Law, T. Longman, T. Casl T. Field, T. Pote, H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, S. Baker, and T. Payne.









omer is universally allowed to have had the greatest Invention of any writer whatever. The praise of judgment Virgil has justly contested with him, and others may have their pretensions as to particular excellencies; but his Invention enains yet unrivaled. Nor is it a wonder if he has ever been acknowledged the greatest of poets, who most excelled in that which is the very soundation of poets y. It is the Invention that in different degrees distinguishes all great Geni-

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uses: the utmost stretch of human study learning, and industry, which masters every thing besides, can never attain to this. It furnishes Art with all her materials, and without it, Judgment itself can at best but steal wisely: for Art is only like a prudent steward that lives on managing the riches of Nature. Whatever praises may be given to works of judgment, there is not even a fingle beauty in them to which the Invention must not contribute: as in the most regular gardens, Art can only reduce the beauties of Nature to more regularity, and fuch a figure, which the common eye may better take in, and is therefore more entertained with. And perhaps the reason why common criticks are inclined to prefer a judicious and methodical genius to a great and fruitful one, is, because they find it easier for themselves to pursue their obfervations through an uniform and bounded walk of Art, than to comprehend the vast and various extent of Nature.

Our author's work is a wild paradife, where if we cannot see all the beauties so distinctly as in an ordered Garden, it is only because the number of them is infinitely greater. It is like a copious nursery which contains the seeds and first productions of every kind, out of which those who followed him have but selected some particular plants, each according to his fancy, to cultivate and beautify. If some things are too luxuriant, it is owing to the richness of the soil; and if others are not arrived to perfection or maturity, it is only because they are over-run and opprest by those of a stronger nature.

It is to the strength of this amazing invention we are to attribute that unequalled fire and rapture, which is so forcible in *Homer*, that no man of a true poetical spirit is master of himself while he reads him. What he writes, is of the most animated nature imaginable; every thing moves, every thing lives, and is put in action. If a council be called, or



a battle fought, you are not coldly informed of what was faid or done as from a third person; the reader is hurried out of himself by the force of the Poet's imagination, and turns in one place to a hearer, in another to a spectator. The course of his verses resembles that of the army he describes,

Οί δ' αρ' ἴσαν, ώσει τε συρί χθων σάσα νεμοίζο. They pour along like a fire that sweeps the whole earth before it. It is however remarkable that his fancy, which is every where vigorous, is not discovered immediately at the beginning of his poem in its fullest splendor: it grows in the progress both upon himself and others, and becomes on fire like a chariot-wheel, by its own rapidity. Exact disposition, just thought, correct elocution, polished numbers, may have been found in a thoufand; but this political fire, this Vivida vis animi, in a very few. Even in works where all those are imperfect or neglect ed, this can over-power criticism, and

make us admire even while we disapprove. Nay, where this appears, though attended with absurdities, it brightens all the rubbish about it, till we see nothing but its own splendor. This Fire is discerned in Virgil, but discerned as through a glass, reflected from Homer, more shining than fierce, but every where equal and constant: in Lucan and Statius, it bursts out in sudden, short, and interrupted flashes: in Milton it glows like a furnace kept up to an uncommon ardor by the force of art: in Shakespear, it strikes before we are aware, like an accidental fire from heaven: but in Homer, and in him only, it burns every where clearly, and every where irrefistibly.

I shall here endeavour to show, how this vast *Invention* exerts itself in a manner superior to that of any poet, through all the main constituent parts of his work, as it is the great and peculiar characteristic which distinguishes him from all other authors.



This strong and ruling faculty was like a powerful star, which in the violence of its course, drew all things within its vor-It seemed not enough to have taken in the whole circle of arts, and the whole compass of nature to supply his maxims and reflections; all the inward passions and affections of mankind, to furnish his characters; and all the outward forms and images of things for his descriptions; but wanting yet an ampler sphere to expatiate in, he opened a new and boundless walk for his imagination, and created a world for himself in the invention of Fable. That which Aristotle calls the Soul of poetry, was first breathed into it by Homer. I shall begin with considering him in this part, as it is naturally the first, and I speak of it both as it means the design of a poem, and as it is taken for fiction.

Fable may be divided into the probable, the allegorical, and the marvellous. The probable fable is the recital of such actions



as though they did not happen, yet might, in the common course of nature: or of fuch as though they did, become fables by the additional episodes and manner of telling them. Of this fort is the main story of an Epic poem, the return of Ulysses, the settlement of the Trojans in Italy, or the like. That of the Iliad is the anger of Achilles, the most short and fingle subject that ever was chosen by any Poet. Yet this he has supplied with a vaster variety of incidents and events, and crouded with a greater number of councils, speeches, battles, and episodes of all kinds, than are to be found even in those poems whose schemes are of the utmost latitude and irregularity. The action is hurried on with the most vehement spirit, and its whole duration employs not fo much as fifty days. Virgil, for want of so warm a genius, aided himself by taking in a more extensive subject, as well as a greater length of time, and contracting the design of both Homer's poems into



one, which is yet but a fourth part as large as his. The other Epic Poets have used the same practice, but generally carried it so far as to superinduce a multiplicity of fables, destroy the unity of action, and lose their readers in an unreasonable length of time. Nor is it only in the main design that they have been unable to add to his invention, but they have followed him in every episode and part of story. If he has given a regular catalogue of an army, they all draw up their forces in the same order. If he has funeral games for Patroclus, Virgil has the same for Anchises, and Statius (rather than omit them) destroys the unity of his action for those of Archemoras. If Ulysses visit the shades, the Æneas of Virgil and Scipio of Silius are sent after him. If he be detained from his return by the allurements of Calypso, so is Æneas by Dido, and Rinaldo by Armida. If Achilles be absent from the army on the fcore of a quarrel through half the poem,.

Rinaldo must absent himself just as long, on the like account. If he gives his hero a fuit of celestial armour, Virgil and Tasso make the same present to theirs. Virgil has not only observed this close imitation of Homer, but where he had not led the way, supplied the want from other Greek authors. Thus the story of Sinon and the taking of Troy was copied (says Macrobius) almost word for word from Pisander, as the loves of Dido and Æneas are taken from those of Medea and Jason in Apollinus, and several others in the same manner.

To proceed to the allegorical fable: if we reflect upon those innumerable knowledges, those secrets of nature and physical philosophy, which Homer is generally supposed to have wrapped up in his allegories, what a new and ample scene of wonder may this consideration afford us? How fertile will that imagination appear, which was able to clothe all the properties of elements, the qualifications



of the mind, the virtues and vices, in forms and persons; and to introduce them into actions agreeable to the nature of the things they shadowed? This is a field in which no succeeding poets could dispute with Homer; and whatever commendations have been allowed them on this head, are by no means for their invention in having enlarged his circle, but for their judgment in having contracted For when the mode of learning changed in following ages, and science was delivered in a plainer manner; it then became as reasonable in the more modern poets to lay it aside, as it was in Homer to make use of it. And perhaps it was no unhappy circumstance for Virgil, that there was not in his time that demand upon him of so great an invention, as might be capable of furnishing all those allegorical parts of a poem.

The marvellous fable includes whatever is supernatural, and especially the machines of the Gods. He seems the

first who brought them into a system of machinery for poetry, and fuch a one as makes its greatest importance and dignity. For we find those authors who have been offended at the literal notion of the Gods, constantly laying their accusation against Homer as the chief support of it. But whatever cause there might be to blame his machines in a philosophical or religious view, they are so perfect in the poetic, that mankind have been ever fince contented to follow them: none have been able to enlarge the sphere of poetry beyond the limits he has set: every attempt of this nature has proved unfuccessful; and after all the various changes of times and religions, his Gods continue to this day the Gods of poetry.

We come now to the characters of his persons, and here we shall find no author has ever drawn so many, with so visible and surprizing a variety, or given us such lively and affecting impressions of them. Every one has something so singularly his



own, that no painter could have distinguished them more by their fcatures, than the Poet has by their manners. Nothing can be more exact than the distinctions he has observed in the different degrees of virtues and vices. The fingle quality of courage is wonderfully diversified in the several characters of the Iliad. That of Achilles is furious and intractable; that of Diomede forward, yet listening to advice and subject to command: that of Ajax is heavy, and self-confiding; of Hettor, active and vigilant: the courage of. Agamemnon is inspirited by love of empire and ambition, that of Menelaus mixed with softness and tenderness for his people: we find in Idomeneus a plain direct foldier, in Sarpedon a gallant and generous one. Nor is this judicious and astonishing diversity to be found only in the principal quality which constitutes the main of each character, but even in the underparts of it, to which he takes care to give a tincture of that principal one.

For example, the main characters of Ulysses and Nestor consist in wisdom; and they are distinct in this, that the wisdom of one is artificial and various, of the other natural, open, and regular. But they have, besides, characters of courage; and this quality also takes a different turn in each from the difference of his prudence: for one in the war depends still upon caution, the other upon experience. It would be endless to produce instances of these kinds. The characters of Virgil are far from striking us in this open manner; they lie in a great degree hidden and undistinguished, and where they are marked most evidently, affect us not in proportion to those of Homer. His characters of valour are much alike; even that of Turnus seems no way peculiar but as it is in a superior degree; and we see nothing that differences the courage of Mnestheus from that of Sergesthus, Cloanthus, or the rest. In like manner it may be remarked of Statius's heroes, that

an air of impetuosity runs through them all; the same horrid and savage courage appears in his Capaneus, Tydeus, Hippomedon, &c. They have a parity of character, which makes them seem brothers of one samily. I believe when the reader is led into this track of reslection, if he will pursue it through the Epic and Tragic writers, he will be convinced how infinitely superior in this point the invention of Homer was to that of all others.

The *speeches* are to be considered as they flow from the characters, being perfect or defective as they as se or disagree with the manners of those who utter them. As there is more variety of characters in the *Iliad*, so there is of speeches, than in any other poem. Every thing in it has manners (as Aristotle expresses it) that is, every thing is acted or spoken. It is hardly credible in a work of such length, how small a number of lines are employed in narration. In Virgil the dramatic part is less in proportion to the

narrative; and the speeches often consist of general reflections or thoughts, which might be equally just in any person's mouth upon the same occasion. As many of his persons have no apparent characters, so many of his speeches escape being applied and judged by the rule of propriety. We oftner think of the author himself when we read Virgil, than when we are engaged in Homer: all which are the effects of a colder invention, that interests us less in the action described: Homer makes us hearers, and Virgil leaves us readers.

If in the next place we take a view of the fentiments, the same presiding faculty is eminent in the sublimity and spirit of his thoughts. Longinus has given his opinion, that it was in this part Homer principally excelled. What were alone sufficient to prove the grandeur and excel ence of his sentiments in general, is, that they have so remarkable a parity with those of the scripture: Duport in his

Gnomologia Homerica, has collected innumerable inftances of this fort. And itis with justice an excellent modern writer allows, that if Virgil has not so many thoughts that are low and vulgar, he has not so many that are sublime and noble; and that the Roman author seldom rises into very astonishing sentiments where he is not fired by the Iliad.

If we observe his descriptions, images, and similes, we shall find the invention still predominant. To what else can we ascribe that vast comprehension of images of every fort, where we see each circumstance of art, and individual of nature fummoned together, by the extent and fecundity of his imagination; to which all things, in their various views, prefented themselves in an instant, and had their impressions taken off to perfection, at a heat? Nay, he not only gives us the full prospects of things, but several unexpected peculiarities and side-views, unobserved by any Painter but Homer. No-

thing is so surprizing as the descriptions of his battles, which take up no less than half the Iliad, and are supplied with so vast a variety of incidents, that no one bears a likeness to another; such different kinds of deaths, that no two heroes are wounded in the same manner; and such a profusion of noble ideas, that every battle rises above the last in greatness, horror, and confusion. It is certain there is not near that number of Images and descriptions in any Epic Poet; though every one has assisted himself with a great quantity out of him: and it is evident of Virgil especially, that he has scarce any comparisons which are not drawn from his master.

If we descend from hence to the expression, we see the bright imagination of Homer shining out in the most enlivened forms of it. We acknowledge him the sa ner of poetical diction, the first who taught that language of the Gods to men. His expression is like the colouring of



some great masters, which discovers itself to be laid on boldly, and executed with rapidity. It is indeed the strongest and most glowing imaginable, and touched with the greatest spirit. Aristotle had reason to say, He was the only poet who had found out living words; there are in him more daring figures and metaphors than in any good author whatever. An arrow is impatient to be on the wing, a weapon thirsts to drink the blood of an enemy, and the like. Yet his expression is never too big for the sense, but justly great in proportion to it. It is the sentiment that swells and fills out the diction, which rises with it, and forms itself about it: and in the same degree that a thought is warmer, an expression will be brighter; as that is more strong, this will become more perspicuous: like glass in the furnace, which grows to a greater magnitude and refines to a greater clearness, only as the breath within is more powerful, and the heat more intense.

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To throw his language more out of prose, Homer seems to have affected the compound-epithets. This was a fort of composition peculiarly proper to poetry, not only as it heightened the eliction, but as it assisted and filled the numbers with greater found and pomp, and likewise conduced in some measure to thicken the images. On this last consideration I cannot but attribute these also to the fruitfulness of his invention, since (as he has managed them) they are a fort of supernumerary pictures of the persons or things to which they are joined. We see the motion of Hector's plumes in the epithet Κορυθαίολ , the landscape of mount Neritus in that of Eirosipulla, and so of others; which particular images could not have been infifted upon fo long as to express them in a description (though but of a fingle line) without diverting the reader too much from the principal action or figure. As a Metaphor is a short simile, one of these Epithets is a short description.

PREFACE. xxii Lastly, if we consider his versification, we shall be fensible what a share of praise is due to his invention in that. He was not satisfied with his language as he found it settled in any one part of Greece, but searched through its differing dialeEts with this particular view, to beautify and perfect his numbers: he considered these as they had a greater mixture of vowels or consonants, and accordingly employed them as the verse required either a greater smoothness or strength. What he most affected was the Ionic, which has a peculiar sweetness from its never using contractions, and from its custom of resolving the dipthongs into two syllables; so as to make the words open themselves with a more spreading and sonorous fluency. With this he mingled the Attic contractions, the broader Doric, and the feebler Æe4ic, which often rejects its aspirate, or takes off its accent; and compleated this variety by altering some letters with the li-

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cence of poetry. Thus his measures, instead of being fetters to his sense, were always in readiness to run along with the warmth of his rapture, and even to give a farther representation of his notions, in the correspondence of their sounds to what they signified. Out of all these he has derived that harmony, which makes us confess he had not only the richest head, but the finest ear in the world. This is so great a truth, that whoever will but confult the tune of his verses, even without understanding them (with the same fort of diligence as we daily see practised in the case of Italian Operas) will find more sweetness, variety, and majesty of found, than in any other language or poetry. The beauty of his numbers is allowed by the criticks to be copied but faintly by Virgil himself, though they are so just to ascribe it to the nature of the Latin tongue: indeed the Greek has fome advantages both from the natural Sound of its words, and the turn and ca-



dence of its Verse, which agree with the genius of no other language. Virgil was very sensible of this, and used the utmost diligence in working up a more intractable language to whatsoever graces it was capable of; and in particular never failed to bring the found of his line to a beautiful agreement with its sense. If the Grecian poet has not been so frequently celebrated on this account as the Roman, the only reason is, that fewer criticks have understood one language than the other. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has pointed out many of our author's beauties in this kind, in his treatise of the Composition of Words, and others will be taken notice of in the course of my Notes. It suffices at present to observe of his numbers, that they flow with so much ease, as to make one imagine Homer had no other care than to transcribe as fast as the Muses dictated: and at the same time with so much force and inspiriting vigour, that they awaken and raise us like the

found of a trumpet. They roll along as a plentiful river, always in motion, and always full; while we are born away by a tide of verse, the most rapid, and yet the most smooth imaginable.

Thus on whatever side we contemplate Homer, what principally strikes us is his invention. It is that which forms the character of each part of his work; and accordingly we find it to have made his fable more extensive and copious than any other, his manners more lively and strongly marked, his speeches more affecting and transported, his sentiments more warm and sublime, his images and decriptions more full and animated, his expression more raised and daring, and his numbers more rapid and various. I hope, in what has been said of Virgil, with regard to any of these heads, I have no way derogated from his character. Nothing is more absurd or endless, than the common method of comparing eminent vriters by an opposition of particular

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passages in them, and forming a judgment from thence of their merit upon the whole. We ought to have a certain knowledge of the principal character and distinguishing excellence of each: it is in that we are to consider him, and in proportion to his degree in that we are to admire him. No author or man ever excelled all the world in more than one faculty, and as Homer has done this in invention, Virgil has in judgment. Not that we are to think Homer wanted judgment, because Virgil had it in a more eminent degree; or that Virgil wanted invention, because Homer possest a larger share of it: each of these great authors had more of both than perhaps any man besides, and are only said to have less in comparison with one another. Homer was the greater genius, Virgil the better artist. In one we most admire the man, in the other the work. Homer hurries and transports us with a commanding impetuosity, Virgil leads

us with an attractive majesty: Homer scatters with a generous profusion, Virgil bestows with a careful magnificence: Homer, like the Nile, pours out his riches with a boundless overflow; Virgil, like a river in its banks, with a gentle and constant stream. When we behold their battles, methinks the two Poets resemble the Heroes they celebrate: Homer, boundless and irresistible as Achilles, bears all before him, and shines more and more as the tumult increases; Virgil, calmly daring like Æneas, appears undisturbed in the midst of the action; disposes all about him, and conquers with tranquillity. And when we look upon their machines, Homer seems like his own Jupiter in his terrors, shaking Olympus, scattering the lightnings, and firing the Heavens; Virgil, like the same power in his benevolence, counselfing with the Gods, laying plans for empires, and regularly ordering his whole creation.

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But after all, it is with great parts, as with great virtues, they naturally border on some impersection; and it is often hard to distinguish exactly where the virtue ends, or the fault begins. As prudence may sometimes sink to suspicion, so may a great judgment decline to coldness; and as magnanimity may run up to prosusion or extravagance, so may a great invention to redundancy or wildness. If we look upon *Homer* in this view, we shall perceive the chief objections against him to proceed from so noble a cause as the excess of this faculty.

Among these we may reckon some of his marvellous sictions, upon which so much criticism has been spent, as surpassing all the bounds of probability. Perhaps it may be with great and superiour souls, as with gigantick bodies, which exerting themselves with unusual strength, exceed what is commonly thought he due proportion of parts, to become maracles in the whole; and like the old

heroes of that make, commit something near extravagance, amidst a series of glorious and inimitable performances. Thus Homer has his speaking borses, and Virgil his myrtles distilling blood, where the latter has not so much as contrived the easy intervention of a Deity to save the probability.

It is owing to the same vast invention, that his Similes have been thought too exuberant and full of circumstances. The force of this faculty is feen in nothing more, than in its inability to confine itself to that single circumstance upon which the comparison is grounded: it runs out into embellishments of additional images, which however are so managed as not to overpower the main one. His similes are like pictures, where the principal soure has not only its proportion given agreeable to the original, but is also set off with occasional ornaments and prospects. The same will account for his manner of heaping a number of com-

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parisons together in one breath, when his fancy suggested to him at once so many various and correspondent images. The reader will easily extend this observation to more objections of the same kind.

If there are others which seem rather to charge him with a defect or narrowness of genius, than an excess of it; those seeming defects will be found upon examination to proceed wholly from the nature of the times he lived in. Such are his groffer representations of the Gods, and the vicious and imperfect manners of his Heroes, which will be treated of in the following * Essay: but I must here speak a word of the latter, as it is a point generally carried into extremes, both by the censurers and defenders of Homer. It must be a strange partiality to antiquity, to think with Madam Da cier, "that + those times and manners



^{*} See the Articles of Theology and Morality, in the third part of the Essay.

⁺ Preface to ber Homer.

" are so much the more excellent, as "they are more contrary to ours." Who can be so prejudiced in their favour as to magnify the felicity of those ages, when a spirit of revenge and cruelty, joined with the practice of Rapine and Robbery, reigned through the world; when no mercy was shown but for the sake of lucre, when the greatest Princes were put to the sword, and their wives and daughters made flaves and concubines? On the other side, I would not be so delicate as those modern criticks, who are shocked at the servile offices and mean employments in which we sometimes see the Heroes of Homer engaged. There is a pleasure in taking a view of that simplicity in opposition to the luxury of fucceeding ages, in beholding Monarchs without their guards, Princes tending their flocks, and Princesses drawing water from the springs. When we read Homer, we ought to reflect that we are reading the most ancient author in the

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heathen world; and those who consider him in this light, will double their pleafure in the perusal of him. Let them think they are growing acquainted with nations and people that are now no more; that they are stepping almost three thoufand years back into the remotest Antiquity, and entertaining themselves with a clear and furprising vision of things no where else to be found, the only true mirror of that ancient world. By this means alone their greatest obstacles will vanish; and what usually creates their dislike, will become a satisfaction.

This confideration may farther serve to answer for the constant use of the same epithets to his Gods and Heroes, such as the far-darting Phœbus, the blue-ey'd Pallas, the swift-footed Achilles, &c. which some have censured as impertinent and tediously repeated. Those of the Gods depended upon the powers and offices then believed to belong to them and had contracted a weight and venera-

tion from the rites and solemn devotions in which they were used: they were a fort of attributes with which it was a matter of religion to falute them on all occasions, and which it was an irreverence to omit. As for the epithets of great men, Mons. Boileau is of opinion, that they were in the nature of Surnames, and repeated as such; for the Greeks having no names derived from their fathers, were obliged to add some other distinction of each person; either naming his parents expresly, or his place of birth, profession, or the like: as Alexander the son of Philip, Herodotus of Halicarnassus, Diogenes the Cynic, &c. Homer therefore complying with the custom of his country, used such distinctive additions as better agreed with poetry. And indeed we have something parallel to these in modern times, such as the names of Harold Harefoot, Edmund Ironside, Edward Long-shanks, Edward the black Prince, &c. If yet this be thought to

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account better for the propriety than for the repetition, I shall add a farther conjecture. Hesiod dividing the world into its different ages, has placed a fourth age between the brazen and the iron one, of Heroes distinct from other men: a divine race, who fought at Thebes and Troy, are called Demi-Gods, and live by the care of Jupiter in the islands of the blessed *. Now among the divine honours which were paid them, they might have this also in common with the Gods, not to be mentioned without the solemnity of an epithet, and fuch as might be acceptable to them by its celebrating their families, actions or qualities.

What other cavils have been raised against Homer, are such as hardly deserve a reply, but will yet be taken notice of as they occur in the course of the work. Many have been occasioned by an injudicious endeavour to exalt Virgil; which is much the same, as if one should think



^{*} Hesiod, lib. 1. v. 155, &c.



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to raise the superstructure by undermining the foundation: one would imagine by the whole course of their parallels, that these Criticks never so much as heard of Homer's having written first; a consideration which whoever compares these two Poets, ought to have always in his eye. Some accuse him for the fame things which they overlook or praise in the other; as when they prefer the fable and moral of the Æneis to those of the Iliad, for the same reasons which might set the Odysses above the Æneis. as that the Hero is a wiser man; and the action of the one more beneficial to his country than that of the other: or else they blame him for not doing what he never designed; as because Achilles is not as good and perfect a prince as Æneas, when the very moral of his poem required a contrary character: it is thus that Rapin judges in his comparison of Homer and Virgil. Others select those particular passages of Homer, which are



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not so laboured as some that Virgil drew out of them: this is the whole manage. ment of Scaliger in his Poetices. Others quarrel with what they take for low and mean expressions, sometimes through a false delicacy and refinement, oftner from an ignorance of the graces of the original; and then triumph in the aukwardness of their own translations: this is the conduct of Perault in his Parallels. Lastly, there are others, who pretending to a fairer proceeding, distinguish between the personal merit of Homer, and that of his work; but when they come to assign the causes of the great reputation of the Iliad, they found it upon the ignorance of his times, and the prejudice of those that followed: and in pursuance of this principle, they make those accidents (fuch as the contention of the cities, &c.) to be the causes of his fame, which were in reality the consequences of his merit. The same might as well be said of Virgil, or any great author, whose ge-

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neral character will infallibly raise many casual additions to their reputation. This is the method of Mons. de la Motte; who yet confesses upon the whole, that in whatever age Homer had lived, he must have been the greatest poet of his nation, and that he may be said in this sense to be the master even of those who surpassed him.

In all these objections we see nothing that contradicts his title to the honour of the chief Invention; and as long as this (which is indeed the characteristic of Poetry itself) remains unequaled by his followers, he still continues superior to them. A cooler judgment may commit fewer faults, and be more approved in the eyes of one fort of Criticks: but that warmth of fancy will carry the loudest and most universal applauses, which holds the heart of a reader under the strongest enchantment. Homer not only appears the Inventor of poetry, but excels all the inventors of other arts in this, that he has



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swallowed up the honour of those who fucceeded him. What he has done admitted no increase, it only left room for contraction or regulation. He shewed all the stretch of fancy at once; and if he has failed in some of his flights, it was but because he attempted every thing. A work of this kind seems like a mighty Tree which rifes from the most vigorous feed, is improved with industry, flourishes, and produces the finest fruit; nature and art conspire to raise it; pleasure and profit join to make it valuable: and they who find the justest faults, have only said, that a few branches (which run luxuriant through a richness of nature) might be lopped into form to give it a more regular appearance.

Having now spoken of the beauties and defects of the original, it remains to treat of the translation, with the same view to the chief characteristic. As far as that is seen in the main parts of the

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Poem, such as the fable, manners, and sentiments, no translator can prejudice it but by wilful omissions or contractions. As it also breaks out in every particular image, description and simile; whoever lessens or too much softens those, takes off from this chief character. It is the first grand duty of an interpreter to give his author entire and unmaimed; and for the rest, the diction and versification only are his proper province; since these must be his own, but the others he is to take as he finds them.

It should then be considered what methods may afford some equivalent in our language for the graces of these in the Greek. It is certain no literal translation can be just to an excellent original in a superior language: but it is a great mistake to imagine (as many have done) that a rash paraphrase can make amends for this general defect; which is no less in danger to lose the spirit of an ancient, by deviating into the modern manners of



erpression. If there be sometimes a darkthere is often a light in antiquity, william nothing better preserves than a vertion almost literal. I know no liberties one ought to take, but those which are necessary for transfusing the spirit of the original, and supporting the poetical style of the translation: and I will venture to fay, there have not been more men misled in former times by a servile dull adherence to the letter, than have been deluded in ours by a chimerical insolent hope of raising and improving their author. is not to be doubted that the fire of the poem is what a translator should principally regard, as it is most likely to expire in his managing: however, it is his safest way to be content with preserving this to his utmost in the whole, without endeavouring to be more than he finds his author is, in any particular place. It is a great secret in writing to know when to be plain, and when poetical and figurative; and it is what Homer will teach

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us, if we will but follow modestly in his footsteps. Where his diction is bold and lofty, let us raise ours as high as we can; but where his is plain and humble, we ought not to be deterred from imitating him by the fear of incurring the censure of a mere English Critick. Nothing that belongs to Homer seems to have been more commonly mistaken than the just pitch of his style: some of his translators having swelled into fustian in a proud confidence of the sublime; others sunk into flatness in a cold and timorous notion of simplicity. Methinks I see these different followers of Homer, some sweating and straining after him by violent leaps and bounds (the certain figns of false mettle) others slowly and servilely creeping in his train, while the Poet himself is all the time proceeding with an unaffected and equal majesty before them. However, of the two extreams one could fooner pardon frenzy than frigidity: no author is to be envied for fuch commen-



dations as he may gain by that character of style, which his friends must agree to gether to call fimplicity, and the rest of the world will call dulness. There is a graceful and dignified simplicity, as well as a bald and sordid one, which differ as much from each other as the air of a plain man from that of a sloven: it is one thing to be tricked up, and another not to be dressed at all. Simplicity is the mean between oftentation and rusticity.

This pure and noble simplicity is no where in such perfection as in the Scripture and our Author. One may affirm, with all respect to the inspired writings, that the divine Spirit made use of no other words but what were intelligible and common to men at that time, and in that part of the world; and as Homer is the author nearest to those, his style must of course bear a greater resemblance to the sacred books than that of any other writer. This consideration (together with what has been observed of the parity of

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fome of his thoughts) may methinks induce a translator on the one hand to give into several of those general phrases and manners of expression, which have attained a veneration even in our language from being used in the *Old Testament*; as on the other, to avoid those which have been appropriated to the Divinity, and in a manner consigned to mystery and religion.

For a farther prefervation of this air of fimplicity, a particular care should be taken to express with all plainness those moral sentences and proverbial speeches which are so numerous in this Poet. They have something venerable, and as I may say oracular, in that unadorned gravity and shortness with which they are delivered: a grace which would be utterly lost by endeavouring to give them what we call a more ingenious (that is, a more modern) turn in the paraphrase.

Perhaps the mixture of some Græcisms and old words after the manner of Milton,

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if done without too much affectation, might not have an ill effect in a version of this particular work, which most of any other seems to require a venerable antique cast. But certainly the use of modern terms of war and government, such as platoon, campaign, junto, or the like (into which some of his translators have fallen) cannot be allowable; those only excepted, without which it is impossible to treat the subjects in any living language.

There are two peculiarities in Homer's diction which are a fort of marks or moles, by which every common eye diftinguishes him at first sight: those who are not his greatest admirers look upon them as defects, and those who are, seem pleased with them as beauties. I speak of his compound epithets, and of his repetitions. Many of the former cannot be done literally into English without destroying the purity of our language. I believe such should be retained as slide easily of themselves into an English com-

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pound, without violence to the ear or to the received rules of composition; as well as those which have received a sanction from the authority of our best Poets, and are become familiar through their use of them; such as the cloud-compelling fove, &c. As for the rest, whenever any can be as fully and significantly express in a single word as in a compounded one, the course to be taken is obvious.

Some that cannot be so turned as to preserve their sull image by one or two words, may have justice done them by circumlocution; as the epithet εἰνοσίφυλλος to a mountain, would appear little or ridiculous translated literally leaf-shaking, but affords a majestic idea in the periphrasis: The losty mountain shakes his exaving woods. Others that admit of differing significations, may receive an advantage by a judicious variation according to the occasions on which they are introduced. For example, the epithet of Apollo,

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έκηβόλος, or far-shooting, is capable of two explications; one literal in respect of the darts and bow, the enfigns of that God; the other allegorical with regard to the rays of the fun: therefore in fuch places where Apollo is represented as a God in person, I would use the former interpre tation, and where the effects of the fun are described, I would make choice of the latter. Upon the whole, it will be necessary to avoid that perpetual repetition of the same epithets which we find in Homer, and which, though it might be accommodated (as has been already shewn) to the ear of those times, is by no means so to ours: but one may wait for opportunities of placing them, where they derive an additional beauty from the occasions on which they are employed; and in doing this properly, a translator may at once shew his fancy and his judgment.

As for Homer's Repetitions, we may divide them into three forts; of whole narrations and speeches, of single sen-

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tences, and of one verse or hemistich. I hope it is not impossible to have such a regard to these, as neither to lose so known a mark of the author on the one hand, nor to offend the reader too much on the other. The repetition is not ungrateful in those speeches where the dignity of the speaker renders it a sort of infolence to alter his words; as in the mesfages from Gods to men, or from higher powers to inferiors in concerns of state, or where the ceremonial of religion seems to require it, in the solemn forms of prayers, oaths, or the like. In other cases, I believe the best rule is, to be guided by the nearness, or distance, at which the repetitions are placed in the original: when they follow too close, one may vary the expression, but it is a question whether a professed translator be authorized to omit any: if they be tedious, the author is to answer for it.

It only remains to speak of the Versification. Homer (as has been said) is per-

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petually applying the found to the sense and varying it on every new subject. This is indeed one of the most exquisite beauties of poetry, and attainable by very few: I know only of Homer eminent for it in the Greek, and Virgil in Latin. I am sensible it is what may sometimes happen by chance, when a writer is warm, and fully possest of his image: however it may be reasonably believed they designed this, in whose verse it so manifestly appears in a superior degree to all others. Few readers have the ear to be judges of it; but those who have, will see I have endeavoured at this beauty.

Upon the whole, I must confess my-felf utterly incapable of doing justice to Homer. I attempt him in no other hope but that which one may entertain without much vanity, of giving a more tolerable copy of him than any entire translation in verse has yet done. We have only those of Chapman, Hobbes, and Ogilby. Chapman has taken the



advantage of an immeasurable length of verse, notwithstanding which, there is scarce any paraphrase more loose and rambling than his. He has frequent interpolations of four or fix lines, and I remember one in the thirteenth book of the Adysses, \$. 312. where he has spun twenty verses out of two. He is often mistaken in so bold a manner, that one might think he deviated on purpose, if he did not in other places of his notes insist so much upon verbal trifles. He appears to have had a strong affectation of extracting new meanings out of his author, insomuch as to promise, in his rhyming preface, a poem of the mysteries he had revealed in Homer: and perhaps he endeavoured to strain the obvious sense to this end. His expression is involved in fustian, a fault for which he was remarkable in his original writings, as in the tragedy of Bussy d'Amboise, &c. In a word, the nature of the man may account for his whole performance; for



he appears from his preface and remarks to have been of an arrogant turn, and an enthusiast in poetry. His own boast of having finished half the *Iliad* in less than sisteen weeks, shews with what negligence his version was performed. But that which is to be allowed him, and which very much contributed to cover his defects, is a daring fiery spirit that animates his translation, which is something like what one might imagine *Homer* himself would have writ before he arrived at years of discretion.

Hobbes has given us a correct explanation of the fense in general, but for particulars and circumstances he continually lops them, and often omits the most beautiful. As for its being esteemed a close translation, I doubt not many have been led into that error by the shortness of it, which proceeds not from his following the original line by line, but from the contractions abovementioned. He sometimes omits whole similes and sen-

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tences, and is now and then guilty of mistakes, into which no writer of his learning could have fallen, but through carelessiness. His poetry, as well as Ogil-by's, is too mean for criticism.

It is a great loss to the poetical world chat Mr. Dryden did not live to translate the Iliad. He has left us only the ririt book, and a small part of the fixth; in which if he has in some places not truly interpreted the sense, or preserved the antiquities, it ought to be excused on account of the haste he was obliged to write in. He seems to have had too much regard to Chapman, whose words he sometimes copies, and has unhappily followed him in passages where he wanders from the original. However, had he translated the whole work, I would ma more have attempted Homer after him than Virgil, his version of whom (notwithstanding some human errors) is the most noble and spirited translation I know in any language. But the fate of great



geniuses is like that of great ministers, though they are confessedly the first in the commonwealth of letters, they must be envied and calumniated only for being at the head of it.

That which in my opinion ought to be the endeavour of any one who trant flates Homer, is above all things to keep alive that spirit and fire which makes his chief character: in particular places, where the sense can bear any doubt, to follow the strongest and most poetical, as most agreeing with that character; to copy him in all the variations of his style, and the different modulations of his numbers; to preserve, in the more active or descriptive parts, a warmth and elevation; in the more sedate or narrative, a plainness and solemnity; in the speeches, a fulness and perspicuity; in the sentences, a shortness and gravity: not to neglect even the little figures and turns on the words, nor sometimes the very cast of the periods; neither to omit nor confound

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any rites or customs of antiquity: perhaps too he ought to include the whole in a shorter compass, than has hitherto been done by any translator, who has tolerably preserved either the sense or poetry. What I would farther recommend to him, is to study his author rather from his own text, than from any commentaries, how learned soever, or whatever figure they may make in the estimation of the world; to confider him attentively in comparison with Virgil above all the ancients, and with Milton above all the moderns. Next these, the Archbishop of Cambray's Telemachus may give him the truest idea of the spirit and turn of our author, and Bossu's admirable treatise of the Epic poem the justest notion of his design and conduct. But after all, with whatever judgment and study a man may proceed, or with whatever happiness he may perform fuch a work, he must hope to please but a few; those only who have at once a taste of poetry, and



competent learning. For to satisfy such as want either, is not in the nature of this undertaking; since a mere modern wit can like nothing that is not modern, and a pedant nothing that is not Greek.

What I have done is submitted to the publick, from whose opinions I am prepared to learn; though I fear no judges so little as our best poets, who are most sensible of the weight of this task. As for the worst, whatever they shall please to fay, they may give me some concern as they are unhappy men, but none as they are malignant writers. I was guided in this translation by judgments very different from theirs, and by persons for whom they can have no kindness, if an old observation be true, that the strongest antipathy in the world is that of fools to men of wit. Mr. Addison was the first whose advice determined me to undertake this task, who was pleased to write to me upon that occasion in such terms, as I cannot repeat without vanity. I was

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obliged to Sir Richard Steele for a very early recommendation of my undertaking to the publick. Dr. Swift promoted my interest with that warmth with which he always serves his friend. The humanity and frankness of Sir Samuel Garth are what I never knew wanting on any occafion. I must also acknowledge, with infinite pleasure, the many friendly offices, as well as sincere criticisms of Mr. Congreve, who had led me the way in tranflating some parts of Homer. I must add the names of Mr. Rowe and Dr. Parnell, though I shall take a farther opportunity of doing justice to the last, whose goodnature (to give it a great panegyrick) is no less extensive than his learning. The favour of these gentlemen is not entirely undeserved by one who bears them so true ar affection. But what can I say of the honour so many of the Great have done me, while the first names of the age appear as my subscribers, and the most distinguished patrous and ornaments of learn-



ing as my chief encouragers. Among these it is a particular pleasure to me to find, that my highest obligations are to such who have done most honour to the name of Poet: that his Grace the Duke of Buckingham was not displeased I should undertake the author to whom he has given (in his excellent Essay) so complete a Praise.

Read Homer once, and you can read no more; For all Books else appear so mean, so poor, Verse will seem Prose: but still persist to read, And Homer will be all the Books you need.

That the Earl of Hallifax was one of the first to savour me, of whom it is hard to say whether the advancement of the polite arts is more owing to his generosity or his example. That such a Genius as my Lord Bolingbroke, not more distinguished in the great scenes of business, than in all the useful and entertaining parts of learning, has not refused to be the critick of these sheets, and the pa-

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tron of their writer. And that the noble author of the Tragedy of Heroic Love, has continued his partiality to me, from my writing Pastorals, to my attempting the Iliad. I cannot deny myself the pride of confessing, that I have had the advantage not only of their advice for the conduct in general, but their correction of several particulars of this translation.

I could fay a great deal of the pleafure of being distinguished by the Earl of Carnarvon, but it is almost absurd to particularize any one generous action in a person whose whole life is a continued series of them. Mr. Stanbope, the prefent Secretary of State, will pardon my desire of having it known that he was pleased to promote this affair. The particular zeal of Mr. Harcourt (the son of the late Lord Chancellor) gave me a proof how much I am honoured in a share of his friendship. I must attribute to the same motive that of several others



of my friends, to whom all acknowledgments are rendered unnecessary by the privileges of a familiar correspondence: and I am satisfied I can no way better oblige men of their turn, than by my silence.

In short, I have found more patrons than ever Homer wanted. He would have thought himself happy to have met the same favour at Athens, that has been shewn me by its learned Rival, the University of Oxford. And I can hardly envy him those pompous honours he received after death, when I reflect on the enjoyment of so many agreeable obligations, and easy friendships, which make the satisfaction of life. This distinction is the more to be acknowledged, as it is shewn to one whose pen has never gratified the prejudices of particular parties, or the vanities of particular men. Whatever the success may prove, I shall never repent of an undertaking in which I have experienced the candour and friendship



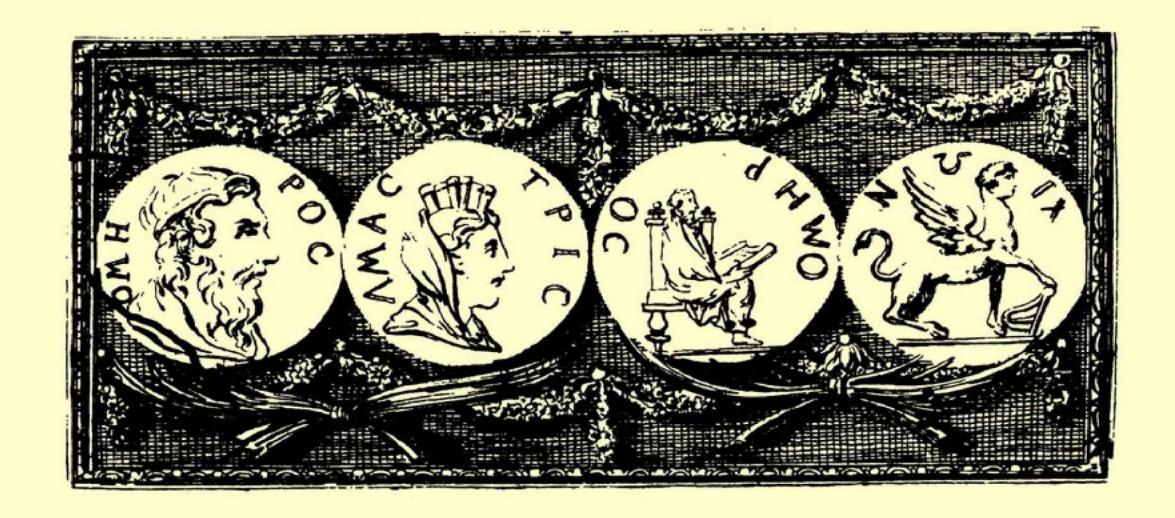
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of fo many persons of merit; and in which I hope to pass some of those years of youth that are generally lost in a circle of sollies, after a manner neither wholly unuseful to others, nor disagreeable to myself.







AN

E S A Y

ONTHE

LIFE, WRITINGS and LEARNING

OF

HOMER.

HERE is something in the mind of man, which goes beyond bare curiosity, and even carries us on to a shadow of friendship with those great geniuses whom we have known

to excel in former ages. Nor will it appear less to any one, who considers how much it partakes of the nature of friendship; how it compounds itself of an admiration raised by what



we meet with concerning them; a tendency to be farther acquainted with them, by gathering every circumstance of their lives; a kind of complacency in their company, when we retire to enjoy what they have left; an union with them in those sentiments they approve; and an endeavour to defend them, when we think they are injuriously attacked, or even sometimes with too partial an affection.

There is also in mankind a spirit of envy or opposition, which makes them uneasy to see others of the same species seated far above them in a fort of perfection. And this, at least so far as regards the fame of writers, has not always been known to die with a man, but to purfue his remains with idle traditions, and weak conjectures; so that his name, which is not to be forgotten, shall be preserved only to be stained and blotted. The controversy, which was carried on between the author and his enemies, while he was living, shall still be kept on foot; not entirely upon his own account, but on theirs who live after him; some being fond to praise extravagantly, and others as rashly eager to contradict his admirers. This proceeding, on both sides, gives us an image of the first descriptions of war, fuch as the Iliad affords; where a Hero disputes the field with an army 'till it is his time to die, and then the battle, which we expected to fall of course, is renewed about the body;

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his friends contending that they may embalm and honour it, his enemies that they may cast it to the dogs and vultures.

There are yet others of a low kind of taste, who, without any malignity to the character of a great author, lessen the dignity of their subject by insisting too meanly upon little particularities. They imagine it the part of an historian to omit nothing they meet with, concerning him; and gather every thing without any distinction, to the prejudice or neglect of the more noble parts of his character: like those trisling painters, or sculptors, who bestow insinite pains and patience upon the most insignificant parts of a figure, 'till they sink the grandeur of the whole, by sinishing every thing with the neatest want of judgment.

Besides these, there is a fourth sort of men, who pretend to divest themselves of partiality on both sides, and to get above that imperfect idea of their subject, which little writers fall into; who propose to themselves a calm search after truth, and a rational adherence to probability in their historical collections: who neither wish to be led into the sables of superstition, nor are willing to support the injustice of a malignant criticism; but, endeavouring to steer in a middle way, have obtained a character of failing least in the choice of materials for history, though drawn from the darkest ages.



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Being therefore to write something concerning a Life, which there is little prospect of our knowing, after it has been the fruitless enquiry of so many ages, and which has however been thus differently treated by historians, I shall endeavour to speak of it not as a certainty, but as the tradition, opinion, or collection of authors, who have been supposed to write of Homer in these four preceding methods; to which we also shall add some farther conjectures of our own. After his life has been thus rather invented than written, I shall consider him historically as an author, with regard to those works which he has left behind him: in doing which, we may trace the degrees of esteem they have obtained in different periods of time, and regulate our present opinion of them, by a view of that age in which they were writ.

I.
Stories of Homer, which are
the effects of
extravagant admiration.

I. If we take a view of *Homer* in those fabulous traditions which the admiration of the ancient heathens has occasioned, we find them running to superstition, and mul-

tiplied, and contradictory to one another, in the different accounts which are given with respect to *Ægypt* and *Greece*, the two native countries of fable.

We have one in * Eustathius most strangely framed, which Alexander Paphius has reported



concerning Homer's birth and infancy. That " he was born in Ægypt of Damasagoras and " Æthra, and brought up by a daughter of Orus, " the priest of Isis, who was herself a prophe-" tess, and from whose breasts drops of honey "would frequently distil into the mouth of the " infant. In the night-time the first sounds he " uttered were the notes of nine several birds; " in the morning he was found playing with " Rine doves in the bed: the Sibyl, who attend-" ed him, used to be seised with a poetical fury, " and utter verses, in which she commanded " Damasagoras to build a temple to the Muses: " this he performed in obedience to her inspira-"tion, and related all these things to the child " when he was grown up; who, in memory of " the doves which played with him during his "infancy, has in his works preferred this bird " to the honour of bringing Ambrosia to Ju-" piter."

One would think a story of this nature so fit for age to talk of, and infancy to hear, were incapable of being handed down to us. But we find the tradition again taken up to be heightened in one part, and carried forward in another.

Heliodorus, who had heard of this claim which Ægypt put in for Homer, endeavours to strengthen it by naming Thebes for the particular place of his birth. He allows too, that a priest was his

b Heliod. Æthiop. 1. 3.



reputed father, but that his real father, according to the opinion of Ægypt, was Mcrcury: he fays, "That when the Priest was celebrating the " rites of his country, and therefore slept with " his wife in the Temple, the God had know-" ledge of her, and begot Homer: that he was " born with tufts of hair on his thigh, as a " fign of unlawful generation, from whence he " was called Homer by the nations through which " he wandered: that he himself was the occa-" fion why this story of his divine extraction is " unknown; because he neither told his name, " race, nor country, being ashamed of his exile, " to which his reputed father drove him from " among the consecrated youths, on account of " that mark, which their priests esteemed a tef-" timony of an incestuous birth."

These are the extravagant stories by which men, who have not been able to express how much they admire him, transcend the bounds of probability to say something extraordinary. The mind, that becomes dazzled with the sight of his performances, loses the common idea of a man in the fancied splendor of perfection: it deems nothing less than a God worthy to be his Father, nothing less than a Prophetess deserving to be his nurse; and, growing unwilling that he should be spoken of in a language beneath its imaginations, delivers fables in the place of history.

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But whatever has thus been offered to support the claim of Ægypt, they who plead for Greece are not to be accused for coming short of it. Their fancy rose with a refinement as much above that of their masters, as the Greek Imagination was superior to that of the Ægyptians: their Fiction was but a Veil, and frequently wrought fine enough to be seen through, so that it hardly hides the meaning it is made to cover, from the first glance of the imagination. For a proof of this, we may mention that poetical genealogy which is delivered for Homer's, in the Greek treatise of the contention between him and Hesiod, and but little varied by the relation of it in Suidas.

"The Poet Linus (say they) was born of A"pollo, and Theose the Daughter of Neptune.

" Pierus of Linus: Oeagrus of King Pierus and

" the Nymph Methone: Orpheus of Oeagrus and

the Muse Calliope. From Orpheus came Othrys;

" from him Harmonides; from him Philoterpus;

" from him Euphemus; from him Epiphrades,

" who begot Menalops, the father of Dius; Dius

had Hesiod the Poet and Perses by Pucamede,

" the daughter of Apollo: then Perses had Mæon,

" on whose daughter Crytheis, the river Meles

" begot Homer."

Here we behold a wonderful genealogy, contrived industriously to raise our idea to the highest,



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where Gods, Goddesses, Muses, Kings and Poets link in a descent; nay, where Poets are made to depend, as it were, in clusters upon the same stalk beneath one another. If we consider too that Harmonides is derived from harmony, Philoterpus from love of delight, Euphemus from beautiful diction, Epiphrades from intelligence, and Pucamede from prudence; it may not be improbable, but the inventors meant, by a fiction of this nature, to turn such qualifications into persons, as were agreeable to his character, for whom the line was drawn: so that every thing divine or great, will thus come together by the extravagant indulgence of fancy, while Admiration turns itself in some to bare Fable, in others to Allegory.

After this fabulous tree of his pedigree, we may regularly view him in one passage concerning his birth, which, though it differs in a circumstance, from what has been here delivered, yet carries on the same air, and regards the same traditions. There is a short life of Homer attributed to Plutarch, wherein a third part of Aristotle on poetry, which is now lost, is quoted for an account of his uncommon birth, in this manner. "At the time when Neleus, the son of Codrus, led the colony which was sent into Ionia, there was in the island of Io a young girl, compressed by a Genius, who delighted to associate with the Muses, and share in their

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" conforts. She, finding herself with child, and " being touched with the shame of what had "happened to her, removed from thence to a " place called Ægina. There she was taken in " an excursion made by robbers, and being " brought to Smyrna, which was then under the " Lydians, they gave her to Mæon the King, " who married her upon account of her beauty. "But while she walked on the bank of the ri-" ver Meles, she brought forth Homer, and ex-" pired. The infant was taken by Mæon, and " bred up as his son, till the death of that " Prince." And from this point of the story the Poet is let down into his traditional poverty. Here we see; though he be taken out of the lineage of Meles, where we met him before, he has still as wonderful a rise invented for him; he is still to spring from a Demigod, one who was of a poetical disposition, from whom he might inherit a foul turned to poetry, and receive an afsistance of heavenly inspiration.

In his life the most general tradition concerning him is his blindness, yet there are some who will not allow even this to have happened after the manner in which it falls upon other men: chance and sickness are excluded; nothing less than Gods and heroes must be visibly concerned about him. Thus we find among the different accounts which "Hermias has collected concern-

Hermias in Phæd. Plat. Leo Allat. de Patr. Hom, c, 10,

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ing his blindness, that when *Homer* resolved to write of *Achilles*, he had an exceeding desire to fill his mind with a just idea of so glorious a hero: wherefore, having paid all due honours at his tomb, he intreats that he may obtain a sight of him. The hero grants his poet's petition, and rises in a glorious suit of armour, which cast so unsufferable a splendor, that *Homer* lost his eyes, while he gazed for the inlargement of his notions.

If this be any thing more than a mere fable, one would be apt to imagine it infinuated his contracting a blindness by too intense an application while he wrote his Iliad. But it is a very pompous way of letting us into the knowledge of so short a truth: it looks as if men imagined the lives of poets should be poetically written; that to speak plainly of them, were to speak contemptibly; or that we debase them, when they are placed in less glorious company than those exalted spirits which they themselves have been fond to celebrate. We may however in some measure be reconciled to this last idle fable, for having occasioned so beautiful an Episode in the Ambra of Politian. That which does not inform us in a history, may please us in its proper sphere of poetry.

Stories of Haben the effects of a superstitious from envy.

II. Such stories as these have been the effects of a superstitious fondness, and of the astonishment

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of men at what they consider in a view of perfection. But neither have all the same taste, nor do they equally submit to the superiority of others, nor bear that human nature, which they know to be imperfect, should be praised in an extreme, without opposition. From some principles of this kind have arisen a second fort of stories, which glance at Homer with malignant suppositions, and endeavour to throw a diminishing air over his life, as a kind of answer to those who sought to aggrandize him injudiciously.

Under this head we may reckon those ungrounded conjectures with which his adversaries asperse the very design and prosecution of his travels, when they insinuate, that they were one continued search after authors who had written before him, and particularly upon the same subject, in order to destroy them, or to rob them of their inventions.

Thus we read in f Diodorus Siculus, "That "there was one Daphne the daughter of Tirefias, "who from her inspirations obtained the title of a Sibyl. She had a very extraordinary ge-"nius, and being made priestess at Delphos, "wrote oracles with wonderful elegance, which "Homer sought for, and adorned his poems with several of her verses." But she is placed so far in the fabulous age of the world, that nothing can be averred of her: and as for the verses

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now ascribed to the Sibyls, they are more modern than to be able to confirm the story; which, as it is universally assented to, discovers that whatever there is in them in common with Homer, the compilers have rather taken from him; perhaps to strengthen the authority of their work by the protection of this tradition.

The next infinuation we hear is from Suidas, that Palamedes, who fought at Troy, was famous for poetry, and wrote concerning that war in the Dorick letter which he invented, probably much against Agamemnon and Ulysses, his mortal enemies. Upon this account some have fancied his works were suppressed by Agamemnon's posterity, or that their entire destruction was contrived and effected by Homer when he undertook the same subject. But surely the works of so confiderable a man, when they had been able to bear up so long a time as that which passed between the siege of Troy, and the flourishing of Homer, must have been too much dispersed, for one of so mean a condition as he is represented, to have destroyed in every place, though he had been never so much affisted by the vigilant temper of envy. And we may fay too, that what might have been capable of raising this principle in him, must be capable of being in some measure esteemed by others, and of having at least one line of it preserved to us as his.

After him, in the order of time, we meet with a whole set of names, to whom the maligners of Homer would have him obliged, without being able to prove their affertion. Suidas mentions Corinnus Iliensis, the secretary of Palamedes, who writ a poem upon the same subject, but no one is produced as having seen it. & Tzetzes mentions (and from Johannes Melala only) Sifyphus the Ccan, secretary of Teucer, but it is not so much as known if he writ verse or prose. Befides these, are Dietys the Cretan, secretary to Idomeneus, and Dares the Phrygian, an attendant of Hector, who have spurious treatises pasfing under their names. From each of these is Homer said to have borrowed his whole argument; so inconsistent are these stories with one another.

The next names we find, are Demodocus, whom Homer might have met at Corcyra; and Phemius, whom he might have met at Ithaca: the one (as he Plutarch fays) having according to tradition written the war of Troy, the other the return of the Grecian captains. But these are only two names of friends, which he is pleased to honour with eternity in his poem, or two different pictures of himself, as author of the Iliad and Odysfes, or entirely the children of his imagination, without any particular allusion. So that his usage here puts me in mind of his own Vulcan

F Tzetzes Chil. 5. Hift. 29.

h Plutarch on Musick.



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in the 'Iliad: the God had cast two statues, which he endued with the power of motion; and it is said presently after, that he is scarce able to go unless they support him.

It is reported by some, says * Ptolemaus Epha-Rio, "That there was before Homer a woman " of Memphis, called Phantafia, who writ of the " wars of Troy, and the wandrings of Ulysses. " Now Homer arriving at Memphis where she " had laid up her works, and getting acquainted " with Phanitas, whose business it was to copy " the facred writings, he obtained a fight of " these, and followed entirely the scheme she " had drawn." But this is a wild story, which speaks of an Ægyptian woman with a Greek name, and who never was heard of but upon this account. It appears indeed from his knowledge of the Ægyptian learning, that he was initiated into their mysteries, and for ought we know by one Phanitas. But if we consider what the name of the woman signisies, it seems only as if from being used in a figurative expression, it had been mistaken afterwards for a proper name. And then the meaning will be, that having gathered as much information concerning the Grecian and Trojan story, as he could be furnished with from the accounts of Ægypt, which were generally mixed with fancy and fable, he wrought out his plans of the Iliad and the Odysses,

Iliad. xviii. Ptol. Ep. Excerpt. apud Photium, 1.

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We pass all these stories, together with the little Iliad of Siagrus, mentioned by 1 Ælian. But one cannot leave this subject without reflecting on the depreciating humour, and odd industry of man, which shews itself in raising fuch a number of infinuations that elash with each other, and in spiriting up such a croud of unwarranted names to support them. Nor can we but admire at the contradictory nature of this proceeding; that names of works, which either never were in being, or never worthy to live, should be produced only to persuade us that the most lasting and beautiful poem of the ancients was taken out of them. A beggar might be content to patch up a garment with fuch shreds as the world throws away, but it is never to be imagined an Emperor would make his robes of them.

After Homer had spent a considerable time in travel, we find him towards his age introduced to such an action as tends to his disparagement. It is not enough to accuse him for spoiling the dead, they raise a living author, by whom he must be baffled in that qualification on which his same is founded.

There is in "Hesiod an account of an ancient poetical contention at the funeral of Amphidamas, in which, he says, he obtained the prize, but

¹ Ælian. l. 14. c. 21. ^m Hesiod. Op. & dierum, l. 2. y. 272, &c.



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does not mention from whom he carried it. There is also among the " Hymns ascribed to Homer, a prayer to Venus for success in a poetical dispute, but it neither mentions where, nor against whom. But though they have neglected to name their antagonists, others have since taken care to fill up the stories by putting them together. The making two fuch confiderable names in poetry engage, carries an amusing pomp in it, like making two heroes of the first rank enter the lists of combat. And if Homer and Hefud had their parties among the Grammarians, here was an excellent opportunity for Hesiod's favourers to make a sacrifice of Homer. Hence a bare conjecture might spread into a tradition, then the tradition give occasion to an epigram, which is yet extant, and again the epigram (for want of knowing the time it was writ in) be alledged as a proof of that conjecture from whence it sprung. After this a whole treatise was written upon it, which appears not very ancient, because it mentions Adrian: the story agrees in the main with the short account we find in Plutarch, "That Ganictor, the son of " Amphidamus, King of Eubæa, being used to " celebrate his father's funeral games, invited " from all parts men famous for strength and wisdom. Among these Homer and Hesiod ar-

Hom. Hymn. 2. ad Venerem.
 Aγων Όμήρει κς Ἡσιόδε,
 Plut, Banquet of the seven wife men.



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- ". rived at Chalcis. The king Panidas presided
- " over the contest, which being finished, he de-
- " creed the Tripos to Hesiod, with this sentence,
- "That the poet of peace and husbandry better
- " deserved to be crowned, than the poet of war
- " and contention. Whereupon Hesiod dedicated
- " the prize to the muses, with this inscription,
 - " Ἡσίοδω Μέσαις Ἑλικωνίσι τον δ' ανέθηκεν,
 - " "Υμνω νικήσας εν Καλκίδι θεῖου" Ομηρον.

Which are two lines taken from that place in Hesiod where he mentions no antagonist, and altered, that the two names might be brought in, as is evident by comparing them with these,

"Υμνω νικήσανλα Φέρειν τρίποδ' ἀτωένλα,
"Τον μεν Έγω Μέσης Ελικωνιάδεσσ' ἀνέθηκα."

To answer this story, we may take notice that Hesiod is generally placed after Homer. Grævius, his own commentator, sets him a hundred years lower; and whether he were so or no, yet Plutarch has slightly passed the whole account as a fable. Nay, we may draw an argument against it from Hesiod himself: he had a love of Fame, which caused him to engage at the funeral games, and which went so far as to make him record his conquest in his own works; had he deseated Homer, the same principle would have



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made him mention a name that could have secured his own to immortality. A Poet who records his glory, would not omit the noblest circumstance, and *Homer*, like a captive prince, had certainly graced the triumph of his adversary.

Towards the latter end of his life, there is another story invented, which makes him conclude it in a manner altogether beneath the greatness of a genius. We find, in the life said to be written by Plutarch, a tradition, "That "he was warned by an oracle to beware of the " young mens riddle. This remained long ob-" scure to him, till he arrived at the island Tos. "There, as he sat to behold the fishermen, they " proposed to him a riddle in verse, which he " being unable to answer, died for grief." This story refutes itself, by carrying superstition at one end, and folly at the other. It feems conceived with an air of derision, to lay a great man in the dust after a foolish manner. The fame fort of hand might have framed that tale of Aristotle's drowning himself because he could not account for the Euripus: the design is the same, the turn the same; and all the difference, that the great men are each to suffer in his character, the one by a poetical riddle, the other by a philosophical problem. But these are accidents which can only arise from the meanness of pride,. or extravagance of madness: a soul enlarged with knowledge (so vastly as that of Homer) bet-

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ter knows the proper stress which is to be laid upon every incident, and the proportion of concern, or carelessiness, with which it ought to be affected. But it is the fate of narrow capacities to measure mankind by a false standard, and imagine the great, like themselves, capable of being disconcerted by little occasions; to frame their malignant fables according to this imagination, and to stand detected by it as by an evident mark of ignorance.

III. The third manner in which the life of *Homer* has been written is but an amassing of all the traditions and hints which the wri-

III.
Stories of Homer proceeding
from trifling curiosity.

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ters could meet with, great or little, in order to tell a story of him to the world. Perhaps the want of choice materials might put them upon the necessity; or perhaps an injudicious desire of saying all they could, occasioned the sault. However it be, a life composed of trivial circumstances, which (though it give a true account of several passages) shews a man but little in that light in which he was most samous, and has hardly any thing correspondent to the idea we entertain of him: such a life, I say, will never answer rightly the demand the world has upon an historian. Yet the most formal account we have of *Homer* is of this nature, I mean that which is said to be collected by *He*-



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rodotus. It is, in short, an unsupported minute treatise, composed of events which lie within the compass of probability, and belong to the lowest sphere of life. It seems to be entirely conducted by the spirit of a Grammarian; ever abounding with extempore verses, as if it were to prove a thing so unquestionable as our author's title to rapture; and at the same time the occafions are so poorly invented, that they misbecome the warmth of a poetical imagination. There is nothing in it above the life which a Grammarian might lead himself; nay, it is but fuch a one as they commonly do lead, the highest stage of which is to be master of a school. But because this is a treatise to which writers have had recourse for want of a better, I shall give the following abstract of it.

Homer was born at Smyrna, about one hundred fixty eight years after the fiege of Troy, and fix hundred twenty two years before the expedition of Xerxes. His mother's name was Crytheis, who proving unlawfully with child, was fent away from Cumæ by her uncle, with Ismenias, one of those who led the colony of Smyrna, then building. A while after, as she was celebrating a festival with other women on the banks of the river Meles, she was delivered of Homer, whom she therefore named Melesigenes. Upon this she left Ismenias, and supported herself by her labour, till Phemius (who taught a school in



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Smyrna) fell in love with her, and married her. But both dying in process of time, the school fell to Homer, who managed it with fuch wifdom, that he was univerfally admired both by natives and strangers. Amongst these latter was Mentes, a master of a ship from Leucadia, by whose persuasions and promises he gave up his school, and went to travel: with him he visited Spain and Italy, but was left behind at Ithaca upon account of a defluxion in his eyes. During his stay he was entertained by one Mentor, a man of fortune, justice, and hospitality, and learned the principal incidents of Ulysses's life. But at the return of Mentes, he went from thence to Colophon, where, his defluxion renewing, he fell entirely blind. Upon this he could think of no better expedient than to go back to Smyrna, where perhaps he might be supported by those who knew him, and have the leifure to addict himself to poetry. But there he found his poverty increase, and his hopes of encouragement fail; so that he removed to Cumæ, and by the way was entertained for some time at the house of one Tychius a leather-dresser. At Cumæ his poems were wonderfully admired, but when he proposed to eternize their town if they would allow him a salary, he was answered, that there would be no end of maintaining all the "Ounpois or blind men, and hence he got the name of Homer. From Cumce he went to Phocaea, where



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one Thestorides (a school-master also) offered to maintain him if he would suffer him to transcribe his verses: this Homer complying with through mere necessity, the other had no sooner gotten them, but he removed to Chios; there the poems gained him wealth and honour, while the author himself hardly earned his bread by repeating them. At last, some who came from Chios having told the people that the same verses were published there by a school-master, Homer resolved to find him out. Having therefore landed near that place, he was received by one Glaucus a shepherd, (at whose door he had like to have been worried by dogs) and carried by him to his master at Bollissus, who admiring his knowledge, intrusted him with the education of his children. Here his praise began to spread, and Thestorides, who heard of his neighbourhood, fled before him. He removed however some time afterwards to Chios, where he set up a school of poetry, gained a competent fortune, married a wife, and had two daughters, the one of which died young, the other was married to his patron at Bollissus. Here he inserted in his poems the names of those to whom he had been most obliged, as Mentes, Phemius, Mentor, and Tychius; and resolving for Athens, he made honourable mention of that city, to prepare the Athenians for a kind reception. But as he went, the ship put in at Samos, where he continued the



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whole winter, singing at the houses of great men, with a train of boys after him. In spring he went on board again in order to prosecute his iourney to Athens, but landing by the way at Ios, he fell sick, died, and was buried on the seashore.

This is the life of Homer ascribed to Herodotus, though it is wonderful it should be so, since it evidently contradicts his own bistory, by placing Homer fix hundred twenty-two years before the expedition of Xerxes; whereas Herodotus himself, who was alive at the time of that expedition, says, Homer was only 'four hundred years before him. However, if we can imagine that there may be any thing of truth in the main parts of this treatife, we may gather these general observations from it: that he shewed a great thirst after knowledge, by undertaking such long and numerous travels: that he manifested an unexampled vigour of mind, by being able to write with more fire under the disadvantages of blindness, and the utmost poverty, than any poet after him in better circumstances; and that he had an unlimited sense of fame, (the attendant of noble spirits) which prompted him to engage in new travels, both under these disadvantages, and the additional burthen of old age.

But it will not perhaps be either improper or ifficult to make some conjectures which seem to



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lay open the foundation from whence the tradi tions which frame the low lives of Homer have risen. We may consider, that there are no historians of his time, (or none handed down to us) who have mentioned him; and that he has never spoken plainly of himself, in those works which have been ascribed to him without controversy. However, an eager desire to know something concerning him has occasioned mankind to labour the point under these disadvantages, and turn on all hands to see if there were any thing left which might have the least appearance of information. Upon the fearch, they find no remains but his name and works, and resolve to torture these upon the rack of invention, in order to give some account of the person they belong to.

The first thing therefore they settle is, That what passed for his name must be his name no longer, but an additional title used instead of it. The reason why it was given, must be some accident of his life. They then proceed to consider every thing that the word may imply by its derivation. One finds that 'O µnpòs signifies a thigh; whence arises the tradition in 'Heliodorus, that he was banished Ægypt for the mark on that part, which shewed a spurious birth; and this they imagine ground enough to give him the life of a wanderer. A second finds, that "Oµnp® signifies

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an bostage, and then he must be delivered as such in a war (according to " Proclus) between Smyrna and Chios. A third can derive the name 'O un ορων, non videns, from whence he must be a blind man (as in the piece ascribed to " Herodotus). A fourth brings it from 'Ouws epew, speaking in council; and then (as it is in Suidas) he must, by a divine inspiration, declare to the Smyrnæans, that they should war against Colopbon. A fifth finds the word may be brought to fignify following others, or joining bimself to them, and then he must be called Homer for saying, (as it is quoted from * Aristotle in the life ascribed to Plutarch) that he would Ounpeiv, or follow the Lydians from Smyrna. Thus has the name been turned and winded, enough at least to give a suspicion, that he who got a new etymology, got either a new life of him, or something which he added to the old one

However, the name itself not affording enough to furnish out a whole life, his works must be brought in for assistance, and it is taken for granted, That where he has not spoken of himself, he lies veiled beneath the persons or actions of those whom he describes. Because he calls a poet by the name of Phemius in his Odyssey, they conclude this Phemius was his master. Because he speaks of Demodocus as another poet who was

[&]quot; Procl. vit, Hom. " Herod. vit. Hom. " Plut. Wit. Hom. " Herod. vit. Hom.



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blind, and frequented palaces; he must be sent about 2 blind, to sing at the doors of rich men. If Ulysses be set upon by dogs at his shepherd's cottage, because this is a low adventure, it is thought to be his own at Bolissus. And if he calls the leather-dresser, who made Ajax's shield, by the name of Tychius, he must have been supported by fuch an one in his wants: nay, some have been so violently carried into this way of conjecturing, that the bare b simile of a woman who works hard for her livelihood, is faid to have been borrowed from his mother's condition, and brought as a proof of it. Thus he is still imagined to intend himself; and the sictions of poetry, converted into real facts, are delivered for his life, who has assigned them to others. All those stories in his works which suit with a mean condition are supposed to have happened to him; though the same way of inference might as well prove him to have acted in a higher sphere, from the many passages that shew his skill in government, and his knowledge of the great parts of life.

There are some other scattered stories of Homer which fall not under these heads, but are however of as trisling a nature; as much unsit for the materials of history, still more ungrounded, if possible, and arising merely from chance,

Herod. vit. Hom, a Ibid. b Vid. M. Dacier's life of Homer.



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or the humours of men: fuch is the report we meet with from ' Heraclides, that " Homer was "fined at Athens for a madman;" which seems invented by the disciples of Secretes, to cast an odium upon the Athenians for their consenting to the death of their master, and carries in it something like a declaiming revenge of the schools, as if the world should imagine the one could be esteemed mad, where the other was put to death for being wicked. Such another report is that in " Ælian, " That Homer portioned his "daughter with some of his works for want of "money;" which looks but like a jest upon a poor wit, which at first might have had an Epigrammatist for its father, and been afterwards gravely understood by some painful collector. In short, mankind have laboured heartily about him to no purpose; they have caught up every thing greedily, with that bufy minute curiofity and unsatisfactory inquisitiveness which Seneca calls the Disease of the Greeks; they have puzzled the cause by their attempts to find it out; and, like travellers destitute of a road, yet resolved to make one over unpassable deserts, they superinduce error, instead of removing ignorance.

Diogenes Laertius ex Heracl. in vita Socratis. d'Ælian. l. 9. cap. 15.

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IV. Whenever any authors have Probable conjectures concerning Homer. mer, clear trom superstition, envy, and trisling, they have grown ashamed of all these traditions. This, however, has not occasioned them to desist from the undertaking; but still the difficulty which could not make them desist, has necessitated them, either to deliver the old story with excuses, or else, instead of a life, to compose a treatise partly of criticism, and partly of character; rather descriptive, than supported by action, and the air of history.

that the Time in which he lived has never been fixed beyond dispute, and that the opinions of authors are various concerning it: but the controversy, in its several conjectures, includes a space of years between the earliest and latest, from twenty-four to about five hundred, after the siege of Troy. Whenever the time was, it seems not to have been near that siege, from his own 'Invocation of the Muses to recount the catalogue of the ships: "For we, says he, have "only heard a rumour, and know nothing particularly." It is remarked by 'Velleius Pa-

"Ημεῖς δε κλέΦ οισν ἀκέσμεν εδέ τι ίδμεν. Iliad. ii. v. 487.

Hic longe a temporibus belli quod composuit, Troici, quam quidam rentur, absuit. Nam serme ante annos 950 storuit, intra mille natus est: quo nomine non est mirandum quod sæpe illud usurpat, είσι νέν βρότοι είσι. Hoc enim ut homiquem ita sæculorum notatur differentia. Vell. Paterc. lib. 1.



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terculus, That it must have been considerably later, from his own confession, that "mankind " was but half as strong in his age, as in that "he writ of;" which, as it is founded upon a notion of a gradual degeneracy in our nature, discovers the interval to have been long between Homer and his subject. But not to trouble ourselves with entering into all the dry dispute, we may take notice, that the world is inclined to stand by the & Arundelian marble, as the most certain computation of those early times; and this, by placing him at the time when Diogenetus ruled in Athens, makes him flourish a little before the Olympiads were established; about three hundred years after the taking of Troy, and near a thousand before the Christian Æra. For a farther confirmation of this, we have some great names of antiquity who give him a cotemporary agreeing with the computation: " Cicero fays, There was a tradition that Homer lived about the time of Lycurgus. 'Strabo tells us, It was reported that Lycurgus went to Chios for an interview with him. And even * Plutarch, when he fays, Lycurgus received Homer's works from the grandson of that Creophilus with whom he had lived, does not put him so far backward, but that possibly they might have been alive at the same time.

marble. b Cicero Qu. Tuscul. l. 5. i Strabo,

l 10 k Plut. vitâ Lycurgi.



The next dispute regards his His Country. country, concerning which ' Adrian enquired of the Gods, as a question not to be settled by men; and Appion (according to "Pliny) raised a spirit for his information. That which has increased the difficulty, is the number of contesting places, of which Suidas has reckoned up nineteen in one breath. But his ancient commentator, Didymus, found the subject so fertile, as to employ a great part of his four thoufand volumes upon it. There is a prophecy of the Sibyls that he should be born at Salamis in Cyprus; and then to play an argument of the same nature against it, there is the oracle given to Adrian afterwards, that fays he was born in Ithaca. There are customs of Æolia and Ægypt cited from his works, to make out by turns and with the fame probability, that he belonged to each of them. There was a school shewed for his at Colophon, and a tomb at Ios, both of equal strength to prove he had his birth in either. As for the Atbenians, they challenged him as born where they had a colony; or else in hehalf of Greece in general, and as the metropolis of its learning, they made his name free of their city (qu. Licinia & Mutià lege, says Politian) after the manner of that law by which all Italy became free of Rome.

^{1 &#}x27;Αγών 'Ομής ης 'Ησιόδω, of Adrian's Oracle.

n Seneca Ep. 88. concerning Didymus.
Politian. Præf. in Homerum.

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All these have their authors to record their titles, but still the weight of the question seems to lie between Smyrna and Chios, which we must therefore take a little more notice of. That Homer was born at Smyrna, is endeavoured to be proved by an P Epigram, recorded to have been under the Statue of Pifistratus at Athens; by the reports mentioned in Cicero, Strabo and A. Gellius; and by the Greek lives, which pass under the names of Herodotus, Plutarch and Proclus; as also the two that are anonymous. The 9 Smyrnæans built a temple to him, cast medals of him, and grew so possest of his having been theirs, that it is said they burned Zoilus for affronting them in the person of Homer. On the other hand, the Chians plead the ancient authorities of 'Simonides and ⁵ Theocritus for his being born among them. They mention a race they had, called the Homerida, whom they reckoned his posterity; they cast medals of him; they shew to this day an Homærium, or temple of Homer, near Bolliss; and close their arguments with a quotation from the Hymn to Apollo (which is acknowledged for Ho-

P Epigram on Pisistratus in the anonymous life before Homer.

⁹ Vitruvius Procem. 1. 7.

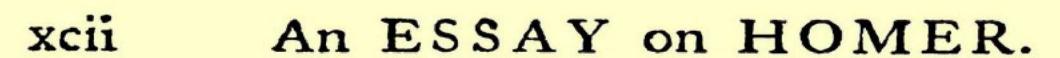
² Simonides Frag. de brevitate vitæ, quoting a verse of Homer, Έν δε τὸ κάλλιτον Χεων είνπεν ανής.

³ Theocritus in Dioscuris, ad fin.

______ Xi ao 1805,

Υμνήσας Πριάμοιο σόλιν η νηας Αχαιών,

Ιλιάδας τε μάγας.





mer's by 'Thucydides) where he calls himself, "The blind man that inhabits Chios." The reader has here the sum of the large treatise of Leo Allatius, written particularly on the subject ", in which, after having separately weighed the pretensions of all, he concludes for Chios. For my part, I determine nothing in a point of so much uncertainty; neither which of these was honoured with his birth, nor whether any of them was, nor whether each may not have produced his own Homer; since " Xenophon says, there were many of the name. But one cannot avoid being furprized at the prodigious veneration for his character, which could engage mankind with fuch eagerness in a point so little essential; that Kings should send to oracles for the enquiry of his birth-place; that cities should be in strife about it, that whole lives of learned men should be employed upon it; that some should write treatifes; that others should call up spirits about it; that thus, in short, heaven, earth and hell should be fought to, for the decision of a question which terminates in curiofity only.

His Parents. If we endeavour to find the parents of Homer, the fearch is as fruitless. * Ephorus had made Mæon to be his father, by a niece whom he defloured; and this has so far obtained as to give him the derivative

W Xcnophon de Æquivocis.

Leo Allatius de patriâ Homeri.

* Plut, vitâ Hom, ex Ephoro,

name of *Mæonides*. His mother (if we allow the story of *Mæon*) is called *Crytheis*: but we are lost again in uncertainty, if we search farther; for *Suidas* has mentioned *Eumetis* or *Polycaste*; and ⁷ *Pausanias*, *Clymene* of *Themisto*; which happens, because the contesting countries find out mothers of their own for him. Tradition has in this case afforded us no more light, than what may serve to shew its shadows in confusion; they strike the sight with so equal a probability, that we are in doubt which to chuse, and must pass the question undecided.

If we enquire concerning his own His Name. name, even that is doubted of. He has been called Melesigenes from the river where he was born. Homer has been reckoned an ascititious name, from some accident in his life: the Certamen Homericum calls him once Auletes, perhaps from his musical genius; and ² Lucian, Tigranes; it may be from a confusion with that Tigranes or 'Tigretes, who was brother of Oueen Artemisia, and whose name has been so far mingled with his, as to make him be esteemed author of some of the lesser works which are ascribed to. Homer. It may not be amiss to close these criticisms with that agreeable derision wherewith Lucian treats the humour of Grammarians in their search after minute and impossible en-

Y Pausanias, 1. 10.

Lucian's true history; l. 2.

[·] Suidas de Tigrete.

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quiries, when he feigns, that he had talked over the point with *Homer*, in the *Island of the Blessed*. "I asked him, says he, of what country he was? "A question hard to be resolved with us; to "which he answered, He could not certainly tell, because some had informed him, that he "was of *Chios*, some of *Smyrna*, and others of "Colophon; but he took himself for a Babylonian, "and said he was called Tigranes, while he lived

" among his country-men; and Homer while he was a hostage among the Grecians."

At his birth he appears not to His Blindness. have been blind, whatever he might be afterwards. The * Chian medal of him (which is of great antiquity, according to Leo Allatius) seats him with a volume open, and reading intently. But there is no need of proofs from antiquity for that which every line of his works will demonstrate. With what an exactness, agreeable to the natural appearance of things, do his cities stand, his mountains rise, his rivers wind, and his regions lie extended? How beautifully are the views of all things drawn in their figures, and adorned with their paintings? What address in action, what visible characters of the passions inspirit his heroes? It is not to be imagined, that a man could have been always blind, who thus inimitably copies nature, and gives every where the proper proportion, fi-

^{*} The medal is exhibited at the beginning of this effay.

gure, colour and life: "Quem si quis cæcum ge"nitum putat (says Paterculus) omnibus sensibus
"orbus est:" He must certainly have beheld the
creation, considered it with a long attention, and
enriched his fancy by the most sensible knowledge
of those ideas which he makes the reader see
while he but describes them.

As he grew forward in years, he His Education was trained up to learning (if we and Master. credit Diodorus) under one "Pronapides, a man" of excellent natural endowments, who taught the Pelasgick letter invented by Linus."

. When he was of riper years, for His Travels. his farther accomplishment and the gratification of his thirst of knowledge, he spent a considerable part of his time in travelling. Upon which account, d Proclus has taken notice that he must have been rich: " For long travels, " fays he, occasion high expences, and especial-" ly at those times when men could neither sail " without imminent danger and inconveniences, "nor had a regulated manner of commerce "with one another." This way of reasoning appears very probable; and if it does not prove him to have been rich, it shews him, at least, to have had patrons of a generous spirit; who observing the vastness of his capacity, believed themselves beneficent to mankind, while they

Paterculus. 1. 1. Diod. Sic. 1. 3. Procl. vitû Hom.

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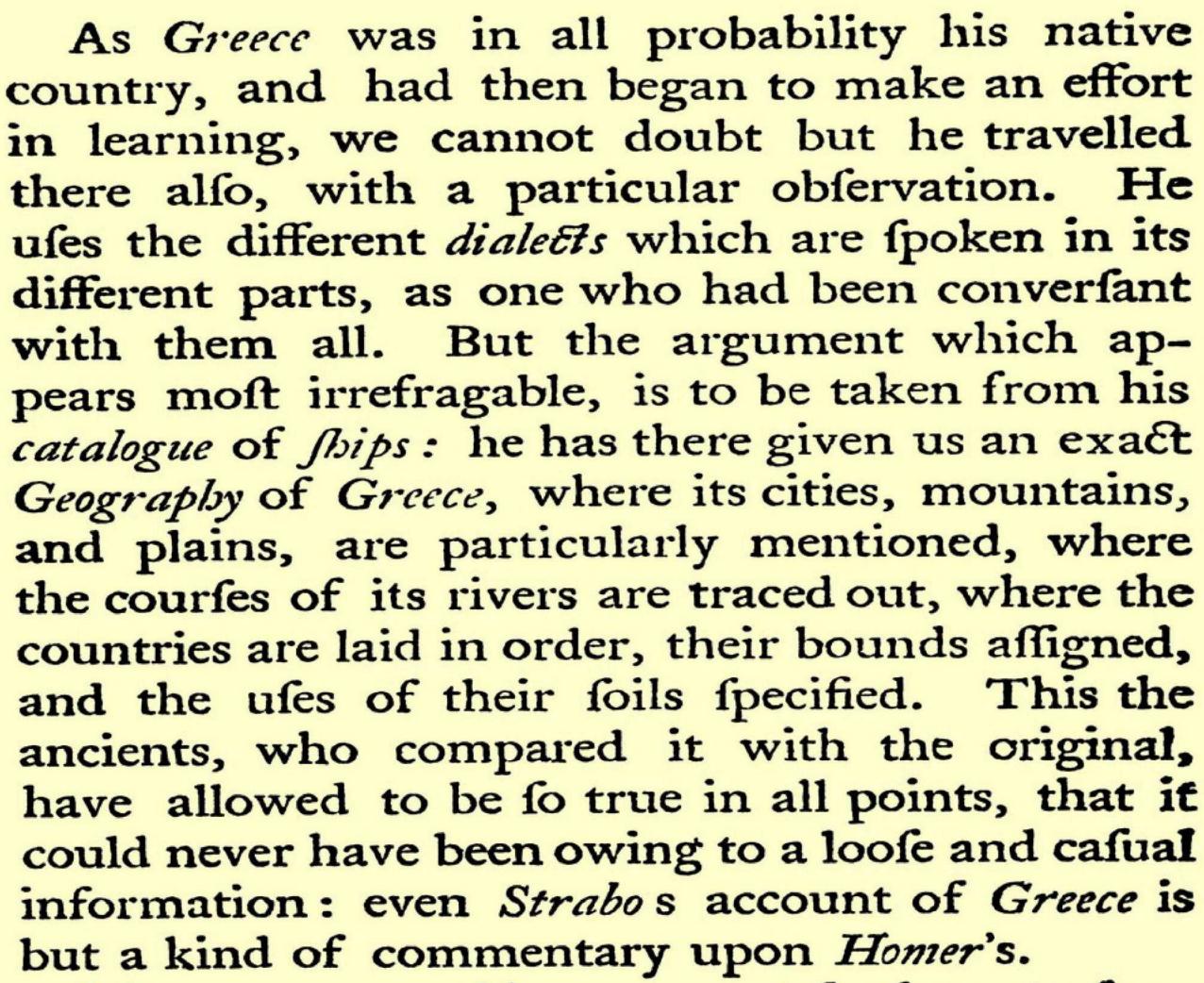
supported one who seemed born for something extraordinary.

Ægypt being at that time the seat of learning, the greatest wits and geniuses of Greece used to travel thither. Among these Diodorus reckons Homer, and to strengthen his opinion alledges that multitude of their notions which he has received into his poetry, and of their customs, to which he alludes in his fictions: fuch as his Gods; which are named from the first Ægyptian Kings; the number of the Muses taken from the nine Minstrels which attended Osiris; the Feast wherein they used to send their statues of the Deities into Æthiopia, and to return after twelve days; and the carrying their dead bodies over the lake to a pleasant place called Acherusia near Memphis, from whence arose the stories of Charon, Styx, and Elysium. These are notions which so abound in him, as to make ' Herodotus say, He had introduced from thence the religion of Greece. And if others have believed he was an Ægyptian, from his knowledge of their rites and traditions, which were revealed but to few, and of the arts and customs which were practifed among them in general: it may prove at least thus much, that he must have travelled there.



Diod. Sic. l. I.

Γ΄ Ησίοδω γὰς κὰ "Ομηςον ἡλικίαν τείρακοσιοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μὲν ωρεσθυτέρες γενέσθαι, κὰ ε ωλέοσι ετοι δέ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσανίες θεοδονίην "Ελλησι, κὰ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόνίες, κὰ τιμὰς τε κὰ
τέχνας διελόνίες, κὰ εἴδεα αὐτῶν (ημιήνανίες. Herodot. l. 2.



We may carry this argument farther, to suppose his having been round Asia Minor, from his exact division of the Regnum Priami vetus (as Horace calls it) into its separate Dynasties, and the account he gives of the bordering nations in alliance with it. Perhaps too, in the wandrings of Ulysses about Sicily, whose ports and neighbouring islands are mentioned, he might contrive to send his Hero where he had made his own voyage before. Nor will the fables he has intermingled be any objection to his having travelled



in those parts, since they are not related as the history of the present time, but the tradition of the former. His mention of Thrace, his description of the beasts of Lybia, and of the climate in the Fortunate Islands, may scem also to give us a view of him in the extremes of the earth, where it was not barbarous or uninhabited. It is hard to set limits to the travels of a man, who has set none to that desire of knowledge which made him undertake them. Who can fay what people he has not seen, who appears to be versed in the customs of all? He takes the globe for the scene on which he introduces his subjects; he launches forward intrepidly, like one to whom no place is new, and appears a citizen of the world in general.

When he returned from his travels, he seems to have applied himself to the finishing of his Poems, however he might have either designed, begun, or pursued them before. In these he treasured up his various acquisitions of knowledge, where they have been preserved through many ages, to be as well the proofs of his own industry, as the instructions of posterity. He could then describe his sacrifices after the Æolian manner; or shis leagues with a mixture of Trojan and Spartan ceremonies: he could then compare the confusion of a multitude to that tumult he had observed in the Icarian sea, dashing

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and breaking among its croud of islands: he could represent the numbers of an army, by those flocks of 's fwans he had seen on the banks of the Cayster; or being to describe that heat of battle with which Achilles drove the Trojans into the river, 's he could illustrate it with an allusion from Cyrene or Cyprus, where, when the inhabitants burned their fields, the grass-hoppers fled before the fire to perish in the Ocean. His fancy being fully replenished, might supply him with every proper occasional image; and his soul after having enlarged itself, and taken in an extensive variety of the creation, might be equal to the task of an Iliad and an Odyssey.

In his old age, he fell blind, and His old age and fettled at Chios, as he says in the Death.

Hymn to Apollo, (which, as is before observed, is acknowledged for his by Thucydides, and might occasion both Simonides and Theocritus to call him a Chian). Strabo relates, That Lycurgus, the great legislator of Sparta was reported to have a conference with Homer, after he had studied the laws of Crete and Ægypt, in order to form his constitutions. If this be true, how much a nobler representation does it give of him, and indeed more agreeable to what we conceive of this mighty genius, than those spurious accounts which keep him down among the meanest of mankind? What an idea could we frame to our-

i Iliad. ii. v. 461. k Il. xxi. y. 12. Strabo, l. 10.



felves, of a conversation held between two perfons so considerable; a philosopher conscious of the force of poetry, and a poet knowing in the depths of philosophy; both their souls improved with learning, both eminently raised above little designs or the meaner kind of interest, and meeting together to consult the good of mankind? But in this I have only indulged a thought which is not to be insisted upon; the evidence of history rather tends to prove that Lycurgus brought his works from Asia after his death: which Proclus imagines to have happened at a great old age, on account of his vast extent of learning, for which a short life could never suffice.

His character and manners. If we would now make a con-

his works, which would not furnish us with facts for his life, will be more reasonably made use of to give us a picture of his mind: to this end therefore, we may suffer the very name and notion of a book to vanish for a while, and look upon what is left us, as a conversation, in order to gain an acquaintance with *Homer*. Perhaps the general air of his works will become the general character of his genius; and the particular observations give some light to the particular turns of his temper. His comprehensive knowledge shews that his soul was not formed like a

m Procl. vitâ Hom.

narrow channel for a fingle stream, but as an expanse which might receive an ocean into its bosom; that he had the strongest desire of improvement, and an unbounded curiofity, which made its advantage of every transient circumstance, or obvious accident. His solid and sententious manner may make us admire him for a man of judgment: one who, in the darkest ages, could enter far into a disquisition of human nature; who, notwithstanding all the changes which governments, manners, rites, and even the notions of Virtue, have undergone, and notwithstanding the improvements since made in Arts, could still abound with so many maxims correspondent to Truth, and notions applicable to so many Sciences. The fire, which is so observable in his Poem, may make us naturally conjecture him to have been of a warm temper, and lively behaviour; and the pleasurable air which every where overspreads it, may give us reason to think, that fire of imagination was tempered with sweetness and affability. If we farther observe the particulars he treats of, and imagine that he laid a stress upon the Sentiments he delivers, pursuant to his real opinions; we shall take him to be of a religious spirit, by his inculcating in almost every page the worship of the Gods. We shall imagine him to be a generous lover of his country, from his care to extol it every where; which is carried to fuch a height,



as to make " Plutarch observe, That though many of the Barbarians are made prisoners or suppliants, yet neither of these d sgraceful accidents (which are common to all nations in war) ever happens to one Greek throughout his works. We shall take him to be a compassionate lover of mankind, from his numberless praises of hospitality and charity; (if indeed we are not to account for them, as the common writers of his life imagine, from his owing his support to these virtues). It might seem from his love of stories, with his manner of telling them sometimes, that he gave his own picture when he painted his Nestor, and, as wise as he was, was no enemy to talking. One would think from his praises of wine, his copious goblets, and pleasing descriptions of banquets, that he was addicted to a chearful, sociable life, which Horace takes notice of as a kind of tradition;

"Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus."

Ep. 19. l. 1.

And that he was not (as may be guessed of Virgil from his works) averse to the female sex, will appear from his care to paint them amiably upon all occasions: his Andromache and Penelope are in each of his Poems most shining characters of conjugal affection; even his Helena herself is

Plutarch. de Aud. Poetis.

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drawn with all the softnings imaginable; his soldiers are exhorted to combat with the hopes of women; his commanders are furnished with fair slaves in their tents, nor is the venerable Nester without a mistres

It is true, that in this way of turning a book into a man, this reasoning from his works to himself, we can at best but hit off a few out-lines of a character: wherefore I shall carry it no farther, but conclude with one discovery which we may make from his filence; a discovery extremely proper to be made in this manner, which is, That he was of a very modest temper. There is in all other Poets a custom of speaking of themselves, and a vanity of promising eternity to their writings: in both which Homer, who has the best title to speak out, is altogether silent. As to the last of them, the world has made him ample recompence; it has given him that eternity he would not promise himself: but whatever endeavours have been offered in respect of the former, we find ourselves still under an irreparable loss. That which others have said of him has amounted to no more than conjecture; that which I have said is no farther to be insisted on: I have used the liberty which may be indulged me by precedent, to give my own opinions among the accounts of others, and the world may be pleased to receive them as so many willing endeavours to gratify its curiosity.

CIV

AEM OF

Catalogue of his Works.

The only incontestable works which Homer has left behind him are the Iliad and Odyssey; the Ba-

trackomyomachia or Battle of the frogs and mice, has been disputed, but is however allowed for his by many authors; amongst whom of Statius has reckoned it like the Culex of Virgil, a trial of force before his greater performances. It is indeed a beautiful piece of raillery, in which a great writer might delight to unbend himself; an instance of that agreeable trisling, which has been at some time or other indulged by the sinest geniuses, and the offspring of that amusing and chearful humour, which generally accompanies the character of a rich imagination, like a vein of Mercury running mingled with a mine of Gold.

The Hymns have been doubted also, and attributed by the Scholiasts to Cynæthus the Rhapsodist; but neither particulates, a Lucian, nor Paulanias, have scrupled to cite them as genuine. We have the authority of the two former for that to Apollo, though it be observed that the word Nópos is found in it, which the book de Poess Homerica (ascribed to Plutarch) tells us, was not in use in Homer's time. We have also an authority of the last for a Hymn to Ceres, of which he has given us a fragment. That to Mars is

[•] Statius Pi af. ad Sylv. 1. P Thucyd. 1. 3. 9 Lucian. Phalarid. 2. Paulan. Bæotic. Paul. Messen.

objected against for mentioning Túpavvos, and that which is the first to Minerva, for using Tuxn, both of them being (according to the author of the treatise before mentioned) words of a later invention. The Hymn to Venus has many of its lines copied by Virgil, in the interview between Æneas and that Goddess in the first Æneid. But whether these Hymns are Homer's, or not, they are always judged to be near as ancient, if not of the same age with him.

The Epigrams are extracted out of the life, faid to be written by Herodotus, and we leave them as such to stand or fall with it; except the Epitaph on Midas, which is very ancient, quoted without its author both by 'Plato and Longinus, and (according to Laertius) ascribed by Simonides to Cleobulus the wise man; who living after Homer, answers better to the age of Midas the son of Gordias.

The Margites, which is lost, is said by * Aristotle to have been a Poem of a comick nature,
wherein Homer made use of iambick verses as
proper for raillery. It was a jest upon the fair
sex, and had its name from one Margites, a weak
man, who was the subject of it. The story is
something loose, as may be seen by the account
of it still preserved in * Eustatbius's Comment on
the Odyssey.

^{*} Plat. in Phæd.

* Laertius in vita Cleobuli.

* Laertius in vita Cleobuli.

* Arift. Poet. cap. 4.

Fustath. in Odyst. 10.

The Cercopes was a satirical work, which is also lost; we may however imagine it was levelled against the vices of men, if our conjecture be right that it was founded upon the z old fable of Cercopes, a nation who were turned into monkies for their frauds and impostures.

The Destruction of Oechalia, was a Poem of which (according to Eustathius) Hercules was the Hero; and the subject, his ravaging that country; because Eurytus the King had denied him his daughter Iöle.

The Ilias Minor was a piece which included both the taking of Troy, and the return of the Grecians: in this was the story of Sinon, which Virgil has made use of. Aristotle has judged it not to belong to Homer.

The Cypriacks, if it was upon them that Nævias founded his Ilias Cypria (as Mr. Dacier conjectures) were the love adventures of the ladies at the siege: these are rejected by ' Herodotus, for faying that Paris brought Helen to Troy in three days; whereas Homer afferts they were long driven from place to place.

There are other things ascribed to him, such as the Heptapection goat, the Arachnomachia, &c. in the ludicrous manner; and the Thebais, Epigoni, or second siege of Thebes, the Phocais, Amazonia, &c. in the serious: which, if they were

² Ovid. Metam. 1. 14. de Cercop. * Arift. Poet. cap. 24. b Dac. on Arist. Poet. cap. 24. c Herod. 1. 2.

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his, are to be reputed a real loss to the learned world. Time, in some things, may have prevailed over Homer himself, and left only the names of these works, as memorials that such were in being; but while the Iliad and Odyffey remain, he seems like a leader, who, though in his attempt of universal Conquest he may have lost his advanced guards, or some few Stragglers in the rear, yet with his main body ever victorious, passes in triumph through all ages.

The remains we have at present, of those Monuments Antiquity had Coins, Marframed for him, are but few. It could not be thought that they who

Monuments, bles, remaining of him.

knew so little of the life of Homer, could have a right knowledge of his person: yet they had statues of him as of their Gods, whose forms they had never seen. " Quinimò quæ non sunt, fingun-" tur (says de Pliny) pariuntque desideria non traditi " vultus, sicut in Homero evenit." But though the ancient portraits of him seem purely notional, yet they agree (as I think 'Fabretti has observed) in representing him with a short curled beard, and distinct marks of age in his forehead. That which is prefixed to this book, is taken from an ancient marble bust, in the palace of Farnese at Rome.

In Bolissus near Chios there is a ruin, which was shewn for the house of Homer, which

e Raph. Fabret. Explication d Pliny, 1. 35. c. 2. Veteris Tabella Anaglyphæ, Hom Iliad.



Leo Allatius went on pilgrimage to visit, and (as he tells us) found nothing but a few stones crumbling away with age, over which he and his companions wept for satisfaction.

They erected Temples to Homer in Smyrna, as appears from ⁸ Cicero; one of these is supposed to be yet extant, and the same which they shew for the Temple of Janus. It agrees with ^h Strabo's description, a square building of stone, near a river, thought to be the Meles, with two doors opposite to each other, North and South, and a large Niche within the east wall, where the image stood: but M. Spon denies this to be the true Homerium.

Of the medals struck for him, there are some both of Chios and Smyrna still in being, and exhibited at the beginning of this Essay. The most valuable with respect to the largeness of the head, is that of Amastris, which is carefully copied from an original belonging to the present Earl of Pembroke, and is the same which Gronovius, Cuperus, and Dacier have copies of, but very incorrectly performed.

But that which of all the remains has been of late the chief amusement of the learned, is the marble called his *Apotheosis*, the work of *Archelaus* of *Priene*, and now in the palace of *Colonna*.

CVIII

F Leo Allat. de patria Hom. cap. 13.

B Cicero pro Archia.

B Strabo, L. 14. Το Ομήςειον σοὰ τέξαγων Έχεσα νεῶν Ομήςε η ξοάνε, &c. de Smyrnu.

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We see there a Temple hung with its veil, where Homer is placed on a feat with a footstool to it, as he has described the seats of his Gods; supported on each side with figures representing the Iliad and the Odyssey, the one by a sword, the other by the ornaments of a ship, which denotes the voyages of Ulysses. On each side of his footstool are mice, in allusion to the Batrachomyomachia. Behind is Time waiting upon him, and a figure with turrets on his head, which fignifies the World, crowning him with the Laurel. Before him is an altar, at which all the Arts are facrificing to him as to their Deity. On one fide of the altar stands a boy, representing Mythology; on the other a woman, representing History: after her is Poetry bringing the facred fire; and m a long following train, Tragedy, Comedy, Nature, Virtue, Memory, Rhetorick, and Wildom, all

in their proper Attitudes.





SECT. II.

AVING now finished what was proposed concerning the history of *Homer's* life, I shall proceed to that of his works; and considering him no longer as a *Man*, but as an *Author*, prosecute the thread of his story in this his second life, through the different degrees of esteem which those writings have obtained in different periods of time.

It has been the fortune of several great geniuses not to be known while they lived, either for want of historians, the meanness of fortune, or the love of retirement, to which a poetical temper is peculiarly addicted. Yet after death their works give themselves a life in Fame, without the help of an historian; and, notwithstanding the meanness of their author, or his love of retreat, they go forth among mankind, the glories of that age which produced them, and the delight of those which follow it. This is a fate particularly

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verified in *Homer*, than whom no confiderable author is less known as to himself, or more highly valued as to his productions.

The earliest account of these is said by Plutarch to be some time after his death, when Lycurgus sailed to Asia: "There he had the

The first publication of his Works by Ly curgus.

" first fight of Homer's works, which were pro-" bably preserved by the grand-children of Creo-" philus; and having observed that their pleasur-" able air of fiction did not hinder the poet's " abounding in maxims of state, and rules of "morality, he transcribed and carried with him "that entire collection we have now among us:" for at that time (continues this author) "there " was only an obscure rumour in Greece to the " reputation of these Poems, and but a few " scattered fragments handed about, till Lycur-" gus published them entire." Thus they were in danger of being lost as soon as they were produced, by the misfortune of the age, a want of taste for learning, or the manner in which they were left to posterity, when they fell into the hands of Lycurgus. He was a man of great learning, a law-giver to a people divided and untractable, and one who had a notion that poetry influenced and civilized the minds of men; which made him smooth the way to his constitution by the fongs of Thales the Cretan, whom he engaged





to write upon obedience and concord. As he proposed to himself, that the constitution he would raise upon this their union should be of a martial nature, these poems were of an extraordinary value to him; for they came with a full force into his scheme; the moral they inspired was unity; the air they breathed was martial; and their story had this particular engagement for the Lacedæmonians, that it shewed Greece in war, and Asia subdued under the conduct of one of their own Monarchs, who commanded all the Grecian Princes. Thus the Poet both pleased the law-giver, and the people; from whence he had a double influence when the laws were fettled. For his Poem then became a Panegyrick on their constitution, as well as a Register of their glory; and confirmed them in the love of it by a gallant description of those qualities and actions for which it was adapted. This made b Cleomenes call him The Poet of the Lacedæmonians: and therefore when we remember that Homer owed the publication of his works to Lycurgus, we should grant too, that I.veurgus owed in some degree the enforcement of his laws to the works of Homer.

Their reception in Greace. At their first appearance in Greece, they were not reduced into a regular body, but remained as they were brought over, in several separate pieces, called

b Plutarch. Apophthicg.



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(according to 'Ælian) from the subject on which they treated; as the battle at the ships, the death of Dolon, the valour of Agamemnon, the Patroclea, the grot of Calypso, the skaughter of the Wooers, and the like. Nor were these entitled Books, but Rhapsodies; from whence they who sung them had the title of Rhapsodists. It was in this manner they began to be disperst, while their poetry, their history, the glory they ascribed to Greece in general, the particular description they gave of it, and the compliment they paid to every little state by an honourable mention, so influenced all, that they were transcribed and fung with general approbation. But what seems to have most recommended them was, that Greece which could not be great in its divided condition, looked upon the fable of them as a likely plan of future grandeur. They seem from thenceforward to have had an eye upon the conquest of Asia, as a proper undertaking, which by its importance might occasion union enough to give a diversion from civil wars, and by its prosecution bring in an acquisition of honour and empire. This is the meaning of d Isocrates,

Φείζω λαβεῖν δόξαν, ὅτι καλῶς τὰς πολεμήσανῖας τοῖς βαρέας ις ἐνείκωμίασε κ] διὰ τὰτο βαληθήναι τὰς Προγόνας ἡμῶν ἔνὶιμον αὐτὰ ποιῆσαι τὴν τέχνην, ἐν τε τοῖς τῆς μασικῆς ὰθλοῖς, κ) τῆ παιδεύσει τῶν νεωτέρων ἵνα πολλάκις ἀκάοιλες τῶν ἐπῶν, ἐκμανθάνωμεν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὰς ὑπάρχασαν, κ) ζηλαθες τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν σραλευσαμένων ἐπι Τροίαν τῶν αὐτῶν ἔρῖων ἐκείνοις ἐπιθυμῶμεν. Ifocrat. Paneg.



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when he tells us, "That Homer's poetry was in "the greater esteem, because it gave exceeding praise to those who fought against the Barba-"rians. Our ancestors (continues he) honour-"ed it with a place in education and musical contests, that by often hearing it we should have a notion of an original enmity between us and those nations; and that admiring the virtue of those who fought at Troy, we should be induced to emulate their glory." And indeed they never quitted this thought, till they had successfully carried their arms wherever Homer might thus excite them.

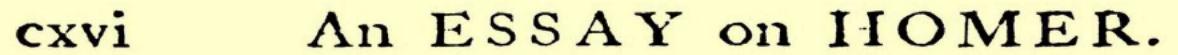
Digested into order at Athens. But while his works were suffered to lie in a distracted manner, the chain of story was not always perceived, so that they lost much of their force and beauty by being read disorderly. Wherefore as Lacedæmon had the first honour of their publication by Lycurgus, that of their regulation fell to the share of Athens in the time of Solon, who himself made a law for their recital. It was then that Pisstratus, the Tyrant of Athens, who was a man of great learning and eloquence, (as Cicero has it) first put together the consused

Diog. Laert. vit. Sol. f Quis doctior iisdem illis temporibus, aut cujus eloquentia literis instructior quam Pisistrati? Qui primus Homeri libros, confusos antea, sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus. Cic. de Orat. l. 3. Vide etiam Æl. l. 13. cap. 14. Liban. Panegyr. in Jul. Anonymam Homeri vitam. Fusius verò in Commentatoribus Dyon. Thracis.

parts of Homer, according to that regularity in which they are now handed down to us. He divided them into the two different Works, entitled the Iliad and Odyssey; he digested each according to the Author's design, to make their plans become evident; and distinguished each again into twenty-four books, to which were afterwards prefixed the twenty-four letters. There is a passage indeed in g Plato, which takes this Work from Pisistratus, by giving it to his son Hipparchus; with this addition, that he commanded them to be fung at the feast called Panathenæa. Perhaps it may be, as h Leo Allatius has imagined, because the son published the copy more correctly: this he offers, to reconcile so great a testimony as Plato's to the cloud of witnesses which are against him in it: but be that as it will, Athens still claims its proper honour of rescuing the father of learning from the injuries of time, of having restored Homer to himself, and given the world a view of him in his perfection. So that if his verses were before admired for their use and beauty, as the stars were, before they were confidered scientifically as a syftem, they were now admired much more for their graceful harmony, and that sphere of order in which they appear to move. They became thenceforward more the pleasure of the

Plato in Hipparcho.

h Leo Allatius de patriâ Hom.



AEHT OF

wits of Creece, more the subject of their studies, and the employment of their pens.

About the time that this new edition of Homer was published in Athens, there was one Cynæthus, a learned Rhapsodist, who (as the i Scholiast of Pindar informs us) settled first at Syracuse in that employment; and if (as Leo Allatius believes) he had been before an affistant in the edition, he may be supposed to have first carried it abroad. But it was not long preserved correct among his followers; they committed mistakes in their transcriptions and repetitions, and had even the presumption to alter some lines, and interpolate others. Thus the works of Homer run the danger of being utterly defaced; which made it become the concern of Kings and Philosophers, that they should be restored to their primitive beauty.

The Edition in Macedon under Alexander.

In the front of these is Alexander the Great, for whom they will appear peculiarly calculated, if we consider that no books more en-

liven or flatter personal valour, which was great in him to what we call romantick: neither has any books more places applicable to his designs on Asia, or (as it happened) to his actions there. It was then no ill compliment in * Aristotle to purge the Iliad, upon his account, from those

i Schol. Pind. in Nem. Od. 2. Plut. in vitâ Alexandri.

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errors and additions which had crept into it. And so far was Alexander himself from esteeming it a matter of small importance, that he afterwards ' affisted in a strict review of it with Anaxarchus and Callisthenes; whether it was merely because he esteemed it a treasury of military virtue and knowledge; or that (according to a late ingenious conjecture) he had a farther aim in promoting the propagation of it, when he was ambitious to be esteemed a son of Jupiter; as a book which treating of the sons of the Gods, might make the intercourse between them and mortals become a familiar notion. The review being finished, he laid it up in a casket, which was found among the spoils of Darius, as what best deserved so inestimable a case; and from this circumstance it was named, The Edition of the Cafket.

The place where the works of Homer were next found in the gypt. greatest regard, is Ægypt, under the reign of the Ptolemies. These Kings being descended from Greece, retained always a passion for their original country. The men, the books, the qualifications of it, were in esteem in their court; they preserved the language in their fa-

¹ Φέρελαι γῶν τίς διόρθωσις τῆς 'Ομήρυ τοιήσεως ἡ ἐκ τὰ Νάςθηκ Αείσμένη τὰ 'Αλεξάνδρυ μετὰ τὰ τῶς Καλλισθενην κὰ 'Ανάξαρχον ἐπελθόνλῶν, κὰ (ημειωσμένω ἔπειλα καλαθένλῶν εἰς Νάρθηκα ον εὖς εν εν Περσική γάζη στολυλελῶς καιεσνουασμένον. Strabo, lib. 13.



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mily; they encouraged a concourse of learned men; erected the greatest library in the world; and trained up their princes under Gracian Tutors; among whom the most considerable were appointed for revisers of Homer. The first of these was " Zenodotus, library-keeper to the first Ptolemy, and qualified for this undertaking by being both a Poet and a Grammarian: but neither his copy nor that which his disciple Aristophanes had made, satisfying Aristarchus, (whom Ptolemy Philometer had appointed over his fon Euergetes) he set himself to another correction with all the wit and learning he was master of He restored some verses to their former readings, rejected others which he marked with obelisks as spurious, and proceeded with such industrious accuracy, that, notwithstanding there were some who wrote against his performance, antiquity has generally acquiesced in it. Nay, so far have they carried their opinion in his favour, as to call a man an " Aristarchus, when they meant to fay a candid, judicious Critick; in the same manner as they call the contrary a Zoilus, from that Zoilus who about this time wrote an envious criticism against Homer. And now we mention these two together, I fancy it will be no small pleasure to the benevolent part of mankind, to

Suidas.

Arguet ambiguè dictum; mutando notabit; Fiet Aristarchus———— Horat. Ars Poetica.

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fee how their fortunes and characters stand in contrast to each other, for examples to suture ages, at the head of the two contrary sorts of criticism, which proceed from good-nature or from ill-will. The one was honoured with the offices and countenance of the court; the other,

when he applied to the same place for an encouragement amongst the men of learning, had his petition rejected with contempt. The one had his same continued to posterity; the other is only remembered with infamy. If the one had antagonists, they were obliged to pay him the deference of a formal answer; the other was never answered but in general, with those opprobrious names of Thracian slave and rhetorical dog. The one is supposed to have his copy still remaining; while the other's remarks are perished, as things that men were ashamed to preserve, the just desert of whatever arises from the miferable principle of ill-will or envy.

It was not the ambition of Ægypt In Syria and oonly to have a correct edition of ther parts of Homer. We find in the life of p the

poet Aratus, that he having finished a copy of the Odyssey, was sent for by Antiochus King of Syria, and entertained by him while he finished one of the Iliads. We read too of others which were published with the names of countries;

Vitruv. 1. 7. in Procem.

P Author vitæ Arati, & Suidas in Arato.



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fuch as the a Massaliotick and Sinopick; as if the world were agreed to make his works in their furvival undergo the same fate with himself; and that as different cities contended for his birth, so they might again contend for his true edition. But though these reviews were not confined to Egypt, the greatest honour was theirs, in that universal approbation which the performance of Aristarchus received; and if it be not his edition which we have at present, we know not to whom to ascribe it.

But the world was not contented In India and barely to have settled an edition of Perfia. his works. There were innumer ble comments, in which they were opened like a treasury of learning; and translations, whereby other languages became enriched by an infufion of his spirit of poetry. ' Ælian tells us, that even the Indians had them in their tongue, and the Persian kings sung them in theirs. * Perfius mentions a version into Latin by Labeo; and in general the passages and imitations which are taken from him, are so numerous, that he may be faid to have been translated by piece-meal into that, and all other languages: which affords us this remark, that there is hardly any thing in him, which has not been pitched upon by some author or other as a particular beauty.

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It is almost incredible to what an height the idea of that veneration the ancients paid to *Homer* will arise, to one who reads particularly with this view, through all these

The extent and height of their reputation in the Heathen world.

periods. He was no sooner come from his obscurity, but Greece received him with delight and profit: there were then but few books to divide their attention, and none which had a better title to engross it all. They made some daily discoveries of his beauties, which were still promoted in their different channels by the favourite qualities of different nations. Sparta and Macedon considered him most in respect of his warlike spirit; Athens and Ægypt with regard to his poetry and learning; and all their endeavours united under the hands of the learned, to make him blaze forth into an universal character. works, which from the beginning passed for excellent poetry, grew to be bistory and geography; they rose to be a magazine of sciences; were exalted into a scheme of religion; gave a sanction to whatever rites they mentioned, were quoted in all cases for the conduct of private life, and the decision of all questions of the law of nations; nay, learned by heart as the very book of belief and practice. From him the Poets drew their inspirations, the Criticks their rules, and the Philosophers a defence of their opinions. Every author was fond to use his name, and every pro-



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fession writ books upon him, till they swelled to libraries. The warriours formed themselves by his Heroes, and the oracles delivered his verses for answers. Nor was mankind satisfied to have seated his character at the top of human wisdom, but being overborn with an imagination that he transcended their species, they admitted him to share in those honours they gave the Deities. They instituted games for him, dedicated statues, erected temples, as at Smyrna, Chios, and Alexandria; and Alian tells us, that when the Aragives sacrificed with their guests, they used to invoke the presence of Apollo and Homer together.

The decline of their character in the beginning of Christianity. Thus he was settled on a foot of adoration, and continued highly venerated in the *Roman* empire, when *Christianity* began. Heathen-ism was then to be destroyed, and

Homer appeared the father of it; whose sictions were at once the belief of the Pagan religion, and the objections of Christianity against it. He became therefore very deeply involved in the question; and not with that honour which hitherto attended him, but as a criminal who had drawn the world into folly. He was on one hand accused for having framed "fables upon the works of Moses; as the rebellion of the giants from the building of Babel, and the casting

^{*} Ælian, l. 9. cap. 15. ad gentes.

Justin Martyr, Admonit.

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Ate or Strife out of heaven from the fall of Lucifer. He was exposed on the other hand for those which he is said to invent, as when " Arnobius cries out, "This is the man who wound-" ed your Venus, imprisoned your Mars, who " freed even your Jupiter by Briareus, and who "finds authorities for all your vices," &c. Mankind was * derided for whatever he had hitherto made them believe; and Plato, who expelled him his commonwealth, has, of all the Philosophers, found the best quarter from the fathers, for passing that sentence. His finest beauties began to take a new appearance of pernicious qualities; and because they might be considered as allurements to fancy, or supports to those errors with which they were mingled, they were to be depreciated while the contest of faith was in being. It was hence, that the reading them was discouraged, that we hear Ruffinus accusing St. Jerome for it, and that 2 St. Austin rejects him as the grand master of fable; though indeed the dulcissimè vanus which he applies to Homer, looks but like a fondling manner of parting with them.

This strong attack against our author, as the great bulwark of Paganism, obliged the Philo-sophers who could have acquiesced as his admirers, to appear as his defenders; who because

^{*} Arnobius adversus gentes, l. 7.
* Vid. Tertull.

Apol. cap. 14.

Y Arnobius, ibid. Eusebius præp.

Evangel. l. 14. cap. 10.

* St. August. Confess. l. 1. cap. 14.



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they saw the fables could not be literally supported, endeavoured to find a hidden sense, and to carry on every where that vein of allegory, which was already broken open with fuccess in some places. But how miserably were they forced to shifts, when they made 'Juno's dressing in the Cestos for Jupiter, to signify the purging of the air as it approached the fire? Or the story of Mars and Venus, that inclination they have to incontinency who are born when these planets are in conjunction? Wit and learning had here a large field to display themselves, and to disagree in; for sometimes Jupiter, and sometimes Vulcan was made to fignify the fire; or Mars and Venus were allowed to give us a lecture of morality at one time, and a problem of Astronomy at another. And these strange discoveries, which Porphyry and the rest would have to pass for the genuine theology of the Greeks, prove but (as Eusebius 'terms it) the perverting of fables into a mystick sense. They did indeed often defend Homer, but then they allegorized away their Gods by doing so. What the world took for substantial objects of adoration, dissolved into a figurative meaning, a moral truth, or a piece of learning, which might equally correspond to any religion; and the learned at last had left themselves

Plutarch on reading the Poets.

Porphyrius de Antro Nymph. &c.

Eusebii Præpar. Evangel. 1. 3.

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nothing to worship, when they came to find an object in Christianity.

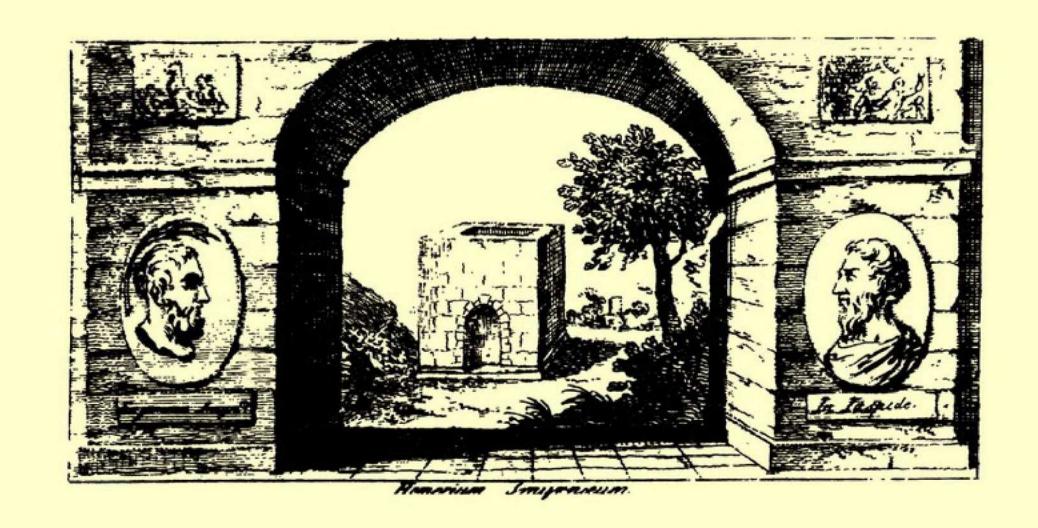
The dispute of faith being over, ancient learning reassumed its dignity, and *Homer* obtained his proper place in the esteem of mankind.

Restoration of Homer's works to their just character.

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His books are now no longer the scheme of a living religion, but become the register of one of former times. They are not now received for a rule of life, but valued for those just observations which are dispersed through them. They are no longer pronounced from oracles, but quoted still by authors for their learning. Those remarks which the Philosophers made upon them, have their weight with us; those beauties which the Poets dwelt upon, their admiration: and even after the abatement of what was extravagant in his run of praise, he remains confessedly a mighty genius not transcended by any which have since arisen; a Prince, as well as a Father of *Poetry*.





SECT. III.

A view of the learning of Ho- lay, to regulate our present opimer's time. nion of Homer by a view of his learning, compared with that of his age. For this end he may first be considered as a poet, that character which was his professedly; and secondly as one endowed with other sciences, which must be spoken of, not as in themselves, but as in subserviency to his main design. Thus he will be seen on his right foot of perfection in one view, and with the just allowances which should be made on the other. While we pass through the several heads of science, the state of those times in which he writ will show us both the impediments he rose under, and the reasons why several things in him which have been objected to, either could not, or should not be otherwise than they are.



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As for the state of Poetry, it was In Poetry. at a low pitch till the age of Homer. There is mention of Orpheus, Linus, and Musiceus, venerable names in antiquity, and eminently celebrated in fable for the wonderful power of their fongs and musick. The learned Fabricius, in his Bibliotheca Græca, has reckoned about feventy who are said to have written before Homer; but their works were not preserved, and that is a fort of proof they were not excellent. What fort of Poets Homer saw in his own time, may be gathered from his description of * Demodocus and Phemius, whom he has introduced to celebrate his profession. The imperfect rifings of the art lay then among the extempore fingers of stories at banquets, who were half fingers, half musicians. Nor was the name of poet then in being, or once used throughout Homer's works. From this poor state of poetry, he has taken a handle to usher it into the world with the boldest stroke of praise which has ever been given it. It is in the eighth Odyssey, where Ulysses puts Demodocus upon a trial of skill. Denodocus having diverted the guests with some actions of the Trojan war; " h All this (says Ulyssas) you have fung very elegantly, as if "you had either been present, or heard it re-" ported; but pass now to a subject I shall give

² Od. 1st, and Od. 8th.



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" you, sing the management of Ulysses in the wooden horse, just as it happened, and I will " acknowledge the Gods have taught you your " songs." This the singer being inspired from heaven begins immediately, and Ulysses by weeping at the recital confesses the truth of it. We fee here a narration which could only pass upon an age extreamly ignorant in the nature of Poetry, where that claim of inspiration is given to it which it has never fince laid down, and (which is more) a power of prophesying at pleasure ascribed to it. Thus much therefore we gather from himself, concerning the most ancient state of Poetry in Greece; that no one was honoured with the name of Poet, before him whom it has especially belonged to ever after. And if we farther appeal to the consent of authors, we find he has other titles for being called the first. 'Josephus observes, That the Greeks have not contested, but he was the most ancient, whose books they had. d Aristotle says, He was the "first who brought all the parts of a poem into one " piece," to which he adds, " and with true "judgment," to give him a praise including both the invention and perfection. Whatever was ferious or magnificent made a part of subject: war and peace were the comprehenfive division in which he considered the world; and the plans of his poems were founded on

Joseph. contra Appion. l. 1. d Arist. Poet. cap. 25.



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on the most active scenes of each, the adventures of a siege, and the accidents of a voyage. For these, his spirit was equally active and various, lofty in expression, clear in narration, natural in description, rapid in action, abundant in figures. If ever he appears less than himself, it is from the time he writ in; and if he runs into errors, it is from an excess, rather than a defect of genius. Thus he rose over the poetical world, shining out like a sun all at once; which if it sometimes make too faint an appearance, it is to be ascribed only to the unkindness of the season that clouds and obscures it, and if he is sometimes too violent, we confess at the same time that we owe all things to his heat.

As for his Theology, we see the Theology. Heathen system entirely followed.

This was all he could then have to work upon, and where he fails of truth for want of revelation, he at least shews his knowledge in his own religion by the traditions he delivers. But we are now upon a point to be farther handled, because the greatest controversy concerning the merit of *Homer* depends upon it. Let us consider then, that there was an age in *Greece*, when natural reason only discovered in general, that there must be something superior to us, and corrupt tradition had affixed the notion to a number of deities. At this time *Homer* rose

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with the finest turn imaginable for poetry, who designing to instruct mankind in the maniscr for which he was most adapted, made use of the ministry of the Gods to give the highest air of veneration to his writings. He found the Religion of mankind consisting of Fables; and their Morality and Political Instruction delivered in Allegories. Nor was it his usiness when he undertook the province of a Poet, (not of a mere Philosopher) to be the first who should discard that which furnishes Poetry with its most beautiful appearance: and especially, fince the age he lived in, by discovering its taste, had not only given him authority, but even put him under the necessity of preserving it. Whatever therefore he might think of his Gods, he took them as he found them: he brought them into action according to the notions which were then entertained, and in fuch stories as were then believed; unless we imagine so great an absurdity, as that he invented every thing he delivers. Yet there are severale rays of truth streaming through all this darkness, in those sentiments he entertains concerning the Providence of the Gods, delivered in several allegories lightly veiled over, from whence the learned afterwards pretended to draw new knowledges, each according to his power of penetration and fancy. But that we may the better comprehend him in all the parts

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of this general view, let us extract from him a selsense of his religion

He has a Jupiter, a father of Gods and men, to whom he applies several attributes, as wisdom, justice, knowledge, power, &c. which are essentially inherent to the idea of a God.

He has given him two vessels, out of which he distributes natural good or evil for the life of man: he places the Gods in council round him; he makes f Prayers pass to and fro before him; and mankind adore him with facri-But all this grand appearance wherein poetry paid a deference to reason, is dashed and mingled with the imperfection of our nature; not only with the applying our passions to the Supreme Being (for men have always been treated with this compliance to their notions) but that he is not even exempted from our common appetites and frailties: for he is made to eat, drink and sleep: but this his admirers would imagine to be only a grosser way of reprefenting a general notion of happiness, because the fays in one place, g that the food of the Gods was not of the same nature with ours. But upon the whole, while he endeavoured to speak

a deity without a right information, he was forced to take him from that image he discovered in man; and (like one who being dazzled with

^{*} Iliad. xxiv. x. 527.
f Iliad. ix. x. 498.
8 Il. v. 340.

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the sun in the heavens, would view him as he is reflected in a river) he has taken off the i pression not only russed with the emotion of our passions, but obscured with the earthy mixture of our natures.

The other Gods have all their provinces affigned them; " Every thing has its peculiar " deity, says h Maximus Tyrius, by which Ho-"mer would infinuate that the Godhead was " present to all things." When they are considered farther, we find he has turned the virtues and endowments of our minds into persons, to make the springs of action become vifible; and because they are given by the Gods, he represents them as Gods themselves descending from heaven. In the same strong light he shews our vices, when they occasion misfortunes, like extraordinary powers which inflict them upon us; and even our natural punishments are represented as punishers themselves. But when we come to see the manner they are introduced in, they are found feasting, fighting wounded by men, and shedding a fort of blood, in which his machines play a little too grossly: the fable which was admitted to procure the pleasure of surprise, violently oppresses the moral, and it may be lost labour to search tor it in every minute circumstance, if indeed it

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was intended to be there. The general strokes are however philosophical, the dress the poet's, which was used for convenience, and allowed to be ornamental. And something still may be offered in his defence, if he has both preserved the grand moral from being obscured, and adorned the parts of his works with fuch sentiments of the Gods as belonged to the age he lived in; which that he did, appears from his having then had that success for which allegory was contrived. "It is the madness of "men, says i Maximus Tyrius, to dis-esteem "what is plain, and admire what is hidden; "this the poets discovering, invented the fa-" ble for a remedy, when they treated of holy "matters; which being more obscure than " conversation, and more clear than the riddle, " is a mean between knowledge and ignorance; " believed partly for being agreeable, and partly " for being wonderful. Thus as Poets in "name, and philosophers in effect, they drew " mankind gradually to a search after truth, " when the name of philosopher would have " been harsh and displeasing."

When Homer proceeds to tell us our duty to those superiour beings, we find prayer, sacrifice, lustration, and all the rites which were esteemed religious, constantly recommended un-

Maxim. Tyrius, Diff. 29.



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der fear of their displeasure. We find too a. notion of the foul's subsisting after this life but for want of revelation he knows not what to reckon the happiness of a future state, to any one who was not deified: which is plain from the speech of k Achilles to Ulysses in the region of the dead; where he tells him, that "he would rather serve the poorest creature " upon earth, than rule over all the departed." It was chiefly for this reason that Plato excluded him his commonwealth; he thought Homer spoke indecently of the Gods, and dreadfully of a future state: but if he cannot be defended in every thing as a theologist, yet we may fay in respect of his poetry, that he has enriched it from theology with true sentiments for profit; adorned it with allegories for pleasure; and by using some machines which have no farther significancy, or are so refined as to make it doubted if they have any, he has however produced that character in poetry which we call the Marvellous, and from which the Agreeable (according to Aristotle) is always inseparable.

If we take the state of Greece at his time in a political view, we find it a 'disunited country, made up of states; and whatever was managed in war amounted to no more than intestine skirmishes,

¹ Odyff. xi. v. 488.

¹ See Thucydides, lib. 1.

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or piracies abroad, which were eafily revenged on account of their dif-union. Thus one people stole Europa, and another Io; the Grecians took Hesione from Eroy, and the Trojans took Helena from Greece in revenge. But this last having greater friends and allianos than any upon whom the rapes had hitherto fallen, the ruin of Troy was the consequence; and the force of the Asiatick coasts was so broken, that this accident put a stop to the age of piracies. Then the intestine broils of Greece (which had been discontinued during the league) were renewed upon its dissolution. War and sedition moved people from place to place, during its want of inhabitan a Exiles from one country were received for Kings in another; and Leaders took tracts of ground to bestow them upon their followers. Commerce was neglected, living at home unsafe, and nothing of moment transacted by any but against their neighbours. Athens only, where the people were undisturbed because it was a barren soil which no body coveted, had begun to send colonies abroad, being over-stocked with inhabitants.

Now a poem coming out at such a time, with moral capable of healing these disorders by promoting *Union*; we may reasonably think it was designed for that end, to which it is so peculiarly adapted. If we imagine therefore that *Homer* was a politician in this affair, we may



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suppose him to have looked back into the ages past, to see if at any time these disorders had been less; and to have pitched upon that story, wherein they found a temporary cure; that by celebrating it with all possible honour he might instil a desire of ne same sort of union into the hearts of his countrymen. This indeed was a work which could belong to none but a poet, when Governors had power only over fmall territories, and the numerous Governments were every way independent. It was then that all the charms of poetry were called forth, to infinuate the important glory of an alliance; and the Iliad delivered as an Oracle from the Muses, with all the pomp of words and artificial influence. Union among themselves was recommended, peace at home, and glory abroad: and lest general precepts should be rendered useless by misapplications, he gives minute and particular lessons concerning it: how when his Kings quarrel, their subjects suffer; when they act in conjunction, victory attends them: therefore when they meet in council, plans are drawn, and provisions made for future action; and when in the field, the arts of war are described with the greatest exactness. These were lectures of general concern to mankind, proper for the poet to deliver, and Kings to attend to; such as made Porphyry write of the profit that princes might receive from

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Homer; and Stratocles, Hermias, and Frontinus extract military discipline out of him. Thus though Plato has banished him from one imaginary commonwealth, he has still been serviceable to many real kingdoms.

The morality of Greece could not Morality. be perfect while there was a natural weakness in its government; faults in politicks are occasioned by faults in Ethicks, and occasion them in their turn. The division into so many states was the rise of frequent quarrels, whereby men were bred up in a rough untractable disposition. Bodily strength met with the greatest honours, because it was daily necessary to the subsistence of little governments, and that headlong courage which throws itself forward to enterprise and plunder, was universally caressed, because it carried all things before it. It is no wonder in an age of such education and customs, that, as "Thucydides fays, "Robbing was honoured, provided it "were done with gallantry, and that the an-"cient poets made people question one ano-"ther as they sailed by, if they were thieves? as " a thing for which no one ought either to be " scorned or upbraided." These were the sort of actions which the fingers then recorded, and





it was out of such an age that Homer was to take his subjects. For this reason (not a want of morality in him) we see a boasting temper and unmanaged roughness in the spirit of his Heroes, which ran out in paide, anger, or cruelty. It is not in him an in our modern Romances, where men are drawn in perfection, and we but read with a tender weakness what we can neither apply nor emulate. Homer writ for men, and therefore he writ of them; if the world had been better, he would have shewn it so; as the matter now stands, we fee his people with the turn of his age, infatiably thirsting after glory and plunder; for which however he has found them a lawful cause, and taken care to retard their success by the intemperance of those very appetites.

In the profecution of the story, every part of it has its lessons of morality: there is brotherly love in Agamemnon and Menelaus, friendship in Achilles and Patroclus, and the love of his country in Hector. But since we have spoken of the Iliad as more particular for its politicks, we may consider the Odyssey as its moral is more directly framed for ethicks. It carries the Hero through a world of trials both of the dangerous and pleasurable nature. It shews him first under most surprising weights of adversity, among shipwrecks and savages; all these

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he is made to pass through, in the methods by which it becomes a man to conquer; a patience in fuffering, and a presence of mind in every accident. It shows him again in another view, tempted with the baits of idle or unlawful pleafures; and then points out the methods of being safe from them. But if in general we consider the care our author has taken to fix his lessons of morality by the proverbs and precepts he delivers, we shall not wonder if Greece, which afterwards gave the appellation of wife to men who settled single senzouces of truth, should give him the title of the Father of Virtue, for introducing such a number. To be brief, if we take the opinion of " Horace, he has proposed him to us as a master of morality; he lays down the common philosophical division of good, into pleasant, profitable, and bonest; and then afferts that Homer has more fully and clearly instructed us in each of them, than the most rigid philosophers.

Some indeed have thought, notwithstanding all this, that *Homer* had only a design to please in his inventions; and that others have since extracted morals out of his stories (as indeed all stories are capable of being used so). But

Hor. Ep. 2. lib. 1.

Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non, Plenius & melius Chrysippo & Crantore dicit.



this is an opinion concerning Poetry, which the world has rather degenerated into, than begun with. The traditions of Orpheus's civilizing mankind by moral poems, with others of the like nature, may shew there was a better use of the art both known and practifed. There is also a remarkable passage of this kind in the third book of the Odyssey, that Agamemnon left one of the Poets of those times in his Court when he failed for Troy; and that his Queen was preserved virtuous by his songs, till Ægystbus was forced to expel him in order to debauch her. Here he has hinted what a true poetical fpirit can do, when applied to the promotion of virtue; and from this one may judge he could not but design that himself, which he recommends as the duty and merit of his profession. Others since his time may have seduced the art to worse intentions; but they who are offended at the liberties of some poets, should not condemn all in the gross for trifling or corruption; especially when the evidence runs fo strongly for any one, to the contrary.

We may in general go on to observe, that at the time when *Homer* was born, *Greece* did not abound in learning. For where-ever Politicks and Morality are weak, learning wants

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its peaceable air to thrive in. He has however introduced as much of their Learning, and even of what he learned from Ægypt, as the nature and compass of his work would admit. But that we may not mistake the Elogies of those ancients who can him the Father of Arts and Sciences, and be surprised to find so little of them (as they are now in perfection) in his works; we should know that this character is not to be understood at large, as if he had included the full and regular systems of every thing: he is to be considered professedly only in quality of a poet; this was his business, to which as whatever he knew was to be subservient, so he has not failed to introduce those strokes of knowledge from the whole circle of arts and sciences, which the subject demanded, either for necessity or ornament. And secondly, it should be observed, that many of those Notions, which his great Genius drew only from Nature and the Truth of things, have been imagined to proceed from his acquaintance with arts and sciences, invented long after; to which that they were applicable, was no wonder, fince both his notions and those sciences were equally founded in Truth and Nature.

Before his time there were no historians in *Greece*: he treated historically of past transactions, according as



he could be informed by tradition, fong, or whatever method there was of preserving their memory. For this we have the consent of antiquity; they have generally more appealed to his authority, and more infifte I on it, than on the testimony of any other writer, when they treat of the rites, customs, and manners of the first times. They have generally believed that the acts of Tydeus at Thebes, the second siege of that city, the settlement of Rhodes, the battle between the Curetes and the Ætolians, the fuccession of the Kings of Mycenæ by the sceptre of Agamemnon, the acts of the Greeks at Troy, and many other fuch accounts, are some of them wholly preserved by him, and the rest as faithfully related as by any historian. Nor perhaps was all of his invention which seems to be feigned, but rather frequently the obscure traces and remains of real persons and actions; which as P Strabo observes, when history was transmitted by oral tradition, might be mixed with fable before it came into the hands of the poet. "This happened (says he) to Herodotus, "the first professed historian, who is as fabu-" lous as Homer when he defers to the common " reports of countries; and it is not to be im-" puted to either as a fault, but as a necessity

"of the times." Nay, the very passages which cause us to tax them at this distance with being fabulous, might be occasioned by their diligence, and a fear of erring, if they too hastily rejected those re orts which had passed current in the nations they described.

Before this time there was no Geography. fuch thing as Geography in Greece. For this we have the suffrage of 9 Strabo, the best of Geographers, who approves the opinion of Hipparchus and other ancients, that Homer was the very author of it, and upon this account begins his treatise of the science itself, with an encomium on him. As to the general part of it, we find he had a knowledge of the Earth's being surrounded with the Ocean, because he makes the Sun and Stars both to rise and set in it; and that he knew the use of the Stars is plain from his making 'Ulysses sail by the observation of them. But the instance oftenest alledged upon this point is the shield of Achilles; where he places the Earth encompassed with the Sea, and gives the Stars the names they are yet known by, as the Hyades, Pleiades, the Bear, and Orion. By the three first of these he represents the constellations of the northern region; and in the last he gives a

⁹ Strabo, ibid. initio. r Odyst. l. v. *. 272. 8 Iliad. xviii. v. 482, &c.



fingle representative of the southern, to which (as it were for a counter-balance) he adds a title of greatness, ζθένω 'Ωρίωνω. Then he tells us that the Bear, or Stars of the Arctick Circle, never disappear; as an observa ion which agrees with no other. And if to this we add (what Eratosthenes thought he meant) that the five plates which were fastened on the shield, divided it by the lines where they met, into the five Zones, it will appear an original design of globes and spheres. In the particular parts of Geography his knowledge is entirely incontestable. Strabo refers to him upon all occasions, allowing that he knew the extremes of the Earth, some of which he names, and others he describes by signs, as the fortunate Islands. The fame 'author takes notice of his accounts concerning the several soils, plants, animals and customs; as Ægypt's being fertile of medicinal herbs; Lybia's fruitfulness, where the Ewes have horns, and yean thrice a year, &c. which are knowledges that make Geography more various and profitable. But what all have agreed to celebrate is his description of Greece, (which had laws made for its preservation, and contests between governments decided by its authority): which "Strabo acknowledges to have

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no epithet, or ornamental expression for any place, that is not drawn from its nature, quality, or circumstances; and professes (after so long an interval) to deviate from it only where the country had undergone alterations, that cast the description into obscurity.

In his time Rhetorick was not Rhetorick. known: that art took its rise out of poetry, which was not till then established. "The oratorial elocution (fays " Strabo) is but " an imitation of the poetical; this appeared " first and was approved they who imitated "it, took off the measures, but still preserved " all the other parts of poetry in their writings: " fuch were Cadmus the Milesian, Pherecydes, " and Hecatæus. Then their followers took " fomething more from what was left, and " at last elocution descended into the prose "which is now among us." But if Rhetorick is owing to poetry, the obligation is still more due to Homer. He (as * Quintilian tells us) gave both the pattern and rife to all the parts of it. "Hic omnibus eloquentiæ partibus ex-" emplum & ortum dedit: bunc nemo in magnis " rebus sublimitate, in parvis proprietate, super-" avit. Idem lætus & pressus, jucundus & gra-" vis, tum copiâ tum brevitate admirabilis, nec

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W Strabo, 1. 1.

^{*} Quintil. 1. 10. cap. I.



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" poetica modo sed oratoria virtute eminentissimus." From him therefore they wno settled the art found it proper to deduce the rules, which was eafily done, when they had divided their observations into the kinds and the ornaments of elocution. For the kinds, the "ancients (fays " A. Gell.) settled them according to the three "which they observe in his principal speakers; " his Ulysses, who is magnificent and flowing; "his Menelaus, who is snort and close; and " his Nestor, who is moderate and dispassioned, " and has a kind of middle eloquence parti-"cipating of both the former." And for the ornaments, 2 Aristotle, the great master of the Rhetoricians, shews what deference is due to Homer, when he orders the orator to lay down his heads, and express both the manners and affections of his work, with an imitation of that diction, and those figures, which the divine Homer excelled in. This is the constant language of those who succeeded him, and the opinion so far prevailed as to make a Quintilian observe, that they who have written concerning the art of speaking, take from Homer most of the instances of their similitudes, amplifications, examples, digressions, and arguments.

Aulus Gell. l. 7. cap. 14. Z Arist. Topic. 2 Quint. l. 10.

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As to natural philosophy, the age Natural philowas not arrived when the Greeks fophy. cultivated and reduced into system

the Principles of it which they learned from Ægypt: yet we see many of these Principles delivered up and down in his work. But as this is a branch of learning which does not lie much in the way of a Poet who speaks of Heroes and Wars; the defire to prove his knowledge this way, has only run b Politian and others into trifling inferences; as when they would have it that he understood the secrets of Philosophy, because he mentions sun, rain, wind and thunder. The most plausible way of making out his knowledge in this kind, is by supposing he couched it in allegories; and that he sometimes used the names of the Gods as his Terms for the Elements, as the Chymists now use them for Metals. But in applying this to him we must tread very carefully; not searching for allegory too industriously, where the passage may instruct by example; and endeavouring rather to find the fable an ornament to plain truths, than to make it a cover to curious and unknown problems.

As for Medicine, something of it must have been understood in that

Politian. Præfatio in Hom.

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age; though in Greece it was so far from perfection, that what concerned Diet was invented long after by Hippocrates. The accidents of life make the search after remedies too indispensable a duty to be neglected at any time. Accordingly he ' tells us, that the Ægyptians who had many medicinal plants in their country, were all Physicians; and perhaps he might have learnt his own skill from his acquaintance with that nation. The state of war which Greece had lived in, required a knowledge in the healing of wounds: and this might make him breed his princes, Achilles, Patroclus, Podalirius, and Machaon, to the science. What Homer thus attributes to others, he knew himself, and he has given us reason to believe, not slightly. For if we consider his insight into the structure of the human body, it is so nice, that he has been judged by some to have wounded his Heroes with too much science: or if we observe his cure of wounds, which are the accidents proper to an Epic poem, we find him directing the chirurgical operation, sometimes infusing denitives, and at other times bitter powders when the effusion of blood required astringent qualities.

Statuary. For Statuary, it appears by the accounts of Ægypt and the Palla-

e Odyst. l. iv. y. 231. d Iliad. iv. y. 218. and Iliad. xi. in fine.

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djum, that there was enough of it very early in the world, for those images which were required in the worship of their Gods; but there are none mentioned as valuable in Greece fo early, nor was the art established on its rules before Homer. He found it agreeable to the worship in use, and necessary for his machinery, that his Gods should be cloathed in bodies: wherefore he took care to give them such as carried the utmost perfection of the human form; and distinguished them from each other even in this superior beauty, with such marks as were agreeable to each of the Deities. "This, " fays " Strabo, awakened the conceptions of " the most eminent statuaries, while they strove " to keep up the grandeur of that idea, which " Homer had impressed upon the imagination, " as we read of Phidias concerning their statue " of Jupiter." And because they copied their Gods from him in their best performances, his descriptions became the characters which were afterwards purfued in all works of good tafte. Hence came the common faying of the ancients, "That either Homer was the only man who " had seen the forms of the Gods, or the only " one who had shewn them to men;" a passage which 'Madam Dacier wrests to prove the truth

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Many or

of his theology, different from Strabo's acceptation of it.

There are, besides what we have spoken of, other sciences pretended to be found in him. Thus Macrobius discovers that the chain with which g Jupiter says he could lift the world, is a metaphysical notion, that means a connexion of all things from the Supreme Being to the meanest part of the creation. Others, to prove him skilful in judicial Astrology, bring a quotation concerning the births of h Hector and Polydamas on the same night; who were nevertheless of different qualifications, one excelling in war, and the other in eloquence: others again will have him to be versed in Magick, from his stories concerning Circe. These and many of the like nature are interpretations strained or trifling, such as are not wanted for a proof of Homer's learning, and by which we contribute nothing to raise his character, while we sacrifice our judgment in the eyes of others.

It is sufficient to have gone thus far, in shewing he was the father of learning, a soul capable of ranging over the whole creation with an intellectual view, shining alone in an age of obscurity, and shining beyond those who

^{*} Il. viii. y. 19. Vid. Macrob. de somn. Scip. l. 1. c. 14.

h Il. xviii. y. 252.

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have had the advantage of more learned ages; leaving behind him a work not only adorned with all the knowledge of his own time, but in which he has beforehand hroken up the fountains of feveral sciences which were brought nearer to perfection by posterity: a work which shall always stand at the top of the sublime character, to be gazed at by readers with an admiration of its perfection, and by writers with a despair that it should ever be emulated with success.







TROJA cum Locis pertingentabus 1. Porta Scaa & Fagus. 2. Caprificus. 3 Fontes Scamandri duo. 4. Callicolone prope Simoim. 5. Batiea few Sepulcrum Myrinnes 6. Hi Monimentum. 7. Tumulus Æfietis. AA. Muris Achivorum. B. Locis Pugna ante naves in lib. 8.12.13.14. C. Gefta Diomedis hoc loco lib. 5. D. Achillis & Scamandri Critatio lib. 22 E. Locus Pugna in lib. 6. E. Pugna in lib: 11. G. Pugna in lib. 20.



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MENT OF MENT O

The ARGUMENT.

The Contention of Achilles and Agamemnon.

IN the war of Troy the Greeks having sacked some of the neighbouring towns, and taken from thence two beautiful captives Chryseis and Briseis, allotted the first to Agamemnon, and the last to Achilles. Chryses, the father of Chryseïs, and priest of Apollo, comes to the Grecian camp to ransom ber; with which the action of the poem opens, in the tenth year of the siege. The priest being refused and insolently dismissed by Agamemnon, intreats for vergeance from his God, who inflicts a pestilence on the Greeks. Achilles calls a council, and encourages Chalcas to declare the cause of it, who attributes it to the refusal of Chryseïs. The king being obliged to send back his captive, enters into a furious contest with Achilles, which Nestor pacifies; however, as be bad the absolute command of the army, he seizes on Briseis in revenge. Achilles in discontent withdraws bimself and bis forces from the rest of the Greeks; and complaining to Thetis, she supplicates Jupiter to render them sensible of the wrong done to ber son, by giving victory to the Trojans. Jupiter granting her suit incenses Juno, between whom the debate runs high, till they are reconciled by the address of Vulcan.

The time of two and twenty days is taken up in this book; nine during the plague, one in the council and quarrel of the Princes, and twelve for Jupiter's stay with the Æthiopians, at whose return Thetis prefers her petition. The scene lies in the Grecian camp, then changes to Chry sa, and lastly to Olympus.





THE

FIRSTBOK

OF THE

I L D.

A CHILLES' Wrath, to Greece the direful spring Of woes unnumber'd, heav'nly Goddess sing! That Wrath which hurl'd to Pluto's gloomy reign The Souls of mighty Chiefs untimely slain;

NOTES.

Homer, there is hardly one whose principal design is to illustrate the poetical beauties of the author. They are voluminous in explaining those sciences which he made but subservient to his Poetry, and sparing only upon that art which constitutes his character. This has been occasioned by the oftentation of men who had more reading than taste, and



Воок г.

Whose limbs unbury'd on the naked shore, Devouring dogs and hungry vultures tore:

were fonder of shewing their variety of learning in all kinds, than their fingle understanding in Poetry. Hence it comes to pass, that tkeir remarks are rather philosophical, historical, geographical, allegorical, or in short any thing rather than critical and poetical. Even the Grammarians, tho' their whole business and use be only to render the words of an author intelligible, are strangely touched with the pride of doing something more than they ought. The grand ambition of one fort of scholars is to increase the number of various lections; which they have done to such a degree of obscure diligence, that (as Sir H. Savil observed) we now begin to value the first editions of books as most correct, because they have been least corrected. The prevailing passion of others is to discover new meanings in the author, whom they will cause to appear mysterious purely for the vanity of being thought to unravel him. These account it a disgrace to be of the opinion of those that preceded them; and it is generally the fate of such people who will never fay what was said before, to say what will never be faid after them. If they can but find a word, that has once been strained by some dark writer, to signify any thing different from its usual acceptation; it is frequent with them to apply it constantly to that uncommon meaning, whenever they meet it in a clear writer: for reading is so much dearer to them than sense, that they will discard it at any time to make way for a criticism. In other places where they cannot contest the truth of the common interpretation, they get themselves room for dissertation by imaginary Amo phibologies, which they will have to be designed by the Author. This disposition of finding out different significations in one thing, may be the effect of either too much, or too little wit: for men of a right understanding generally see at once all that an author can reasonably mean, but others are apt to fancy two meanings for want of knowing one. Not to add, that there is a vast deal of difference between the learning of a Critick, and the puzzling of a Grammarian.

Since great Achilles and Atrides strove,
Such was the sov'reign doom, and such the will of

Fove!

It is no easy task to make something out of a hundred pedants that is not pedantical; yet this he must do, who would give a tolerable abstract of the former expositors of Homer. The commentaries of Eustathius are indeed an immense treafury of the Greek learning; but as he seems to have amassed the substance of whatever others had written upon the author, so he is not free from some of the foregoing censures. There are those who have said, that a judicious abstract of him alone might furnish out sufficient illustrations upon Homer. It was resolved to take the trouble of reading through that voluminous work, and the reader may be assured those remarks that any way concern the poetry, or art of the poet, are much fewer than is imagined. The greater part of these is already plundered by fucceeding commentators, who have very little but what they owe to him: and I am obliged to say even of Madam Dacier, that she is either more beholden to him than she has confessed, or has read him less than she is willing to own. She has made a farther attempt than her predecessors to difcover the beauties of the Poet; though we have often only her general praises and exclamations, instead of reasons. her remarks all together are the most judicious collection extant of the scattered observations of the antients and moderns, as her preface is excellent, and her translation equally careful and elegant.

The chief design of the following notes is to comment upon Homer as a Poet; whatever in them is extracted from others is constantly owned; the remarks of the ancients are generally set at length, and the places cited; all those of Eustathius are collected which fall under this scheme; many which were not acknowledged by other commentators, are restored to the true owner; and the same justice is shewn to those who refused it to others.

ALERT OF

Declare, O Muse! in what ill-fated hour Sprung the sierce strife, from what offended Pow'r?

THE plan of this poem is formed upon anger and its ill effects, the plan of Virgil's upon pious refignation and its rewards; and thus every passion or virtue may be the soundation of the scheme of an Epic poem. This distinction between two authors who have been so successful, seemed necessary to be taken notice of, that they who would imitate either may not stumble at the very entrance, or so curb their imaginations, as to deprive us of noble morals told in a new variety of accidents. Imitation does not hinder Invention: we may observe the rules of nature, and write in the spirit of those who have best hit upon them; without taking the same track, beginning in the same manner, and sollowing the main of their story almost step by step; as most of the modern writers of Epick poetry have done after one of these great poets.

** 1.] Quintilian has told us, that from the beginning of Homer's two poems the rules of all Exordiums were derived. "In paucissimis versibus utriusque operis ingressu, legem Proæmi- orum non dico servavit, sed constituit." Yet Rapin has been very free with this invocation, in his Comparison between Homer and Virgil; which is by no means the most judicious of his works. He cavils first at the Poet's insisting so much upon the effects of Achilles's anger, That it was "the cause of the "woes of the Greeks," that it "sent so many heroes to "the shades," that "their bodies were left a prey to birds and beasts," the first of which he thinks had been sufficient. One may answer, that the woes of Greece might consist in several other things than in the death of her Heroes, which was therefore needful to be specified: as to the bodies, he might have restected how great a curse the want of burial

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Latona's son a dire contagion spread, And heap'd the camp with mountains of the dead;

was accounted by the ancients, and how prejudicial it was esteemed even to the souls of the deceased. We have a most particular example of the strength of this opinion from the conduct of Sophocles in his Ajax; who thought this very point sufficient to make the distress of the last act of that tragedy, which is extended after the death of his Hero, purely to fatisfy the audience that he obtained the rites of sepulture. Next he objects it as preposterous in Homer to desire the Muse to tell him the whole story, and at the same time to inform her solemnly in his own person that 'twas the will of Jove which brought it about. But is a Poet then to be imagined intirely ignorant of his subject, tho' he invokes the Muse to relate the particulars? may not Homer be allowed the knowledge of so plain a truth, as that the will of God is fulfilled in all things? nor does his manner of saying this infer that he informs the Muse of it, but only corresponds with the usual way of desiring information from another concerning any thing, and at the same time mentioning that little we know of it in general. What is there more in this passage? "Sing, O Goddess, that wrath of Achilles, " which proved so pernicious to the Greeks: we only know " the effects of it, that it sent innumerable brave men to the " shades, and that it was Jove's will it should be so. But "tell me, O Muse, what was the source of this destructive " anger?" I cannot comprehend what Rapin means by faying, it is hard to know where this Invocation ends, and that it is confounded with the narration, which so manifestly begins at Antes is Aids vids. But upon the whole, methinks the French Criticks play double with us, when they sometimes represent the rules of poetry to be formed upon the practice of Homer, and at other times arraign their master, as if he transgressed them. Horace has said the Exordium of an Epic poem ought to be plain and modest, and instances Homer's as such; and



The King of men his rev'rend Priest defy'd, And for the Kings offence the people dy'd.

Rapin from this very rule will be trying Homer and judging it otherwise (for he criticises also upon the beginning of the Odyssey.) But for a full answer we may bring the words of Daintilian (whom Rapin himself allows to be the best of criticks) concerning these propositions and invocations of our author, "Benevolum auditorem invocatione dearum quas præside"re vatibus creditum est, intentum proposità rerum magnitudine,
"E docilem summà celeriter comprehensa, facit."

ψ. I.] Μηνιν αειδε θεα Πηληϊάδεω 'Αχιλη.

Plutarch observes there is a defect in the measure of this first line (I suppose he means in the Eta's of the Patronymick.) This, he thinks, the fiery vein of Homer, making haste to his subject, past over with a bold neglect, being conscious of his own power and perfection in the greater parts; as some (says he) who make virtue their sole aim, pass by censure in smaller matters. But perhaps we may find no occasion to suppose this a neglect in him, if we consider that the word Pelides, had he made use of it without so many alterations as he has put it to in Πηληϊάδιω, would still have been true to the rules of measure. Make but a dipthong of the second Eta and the Iota, instead of their being two syllables (perhaps by the fault of transcribers) and the objection is gone. Or perhaps it might be designed, that the verse in which he professes to sing of violent anger should run off in the rapidity of Dactyls. This art he is allowed to have used in other places, and Virgil has been particularly celebrated for it.

* 8. Will of Jove.] Plutarch in his treatise of reading poets, interprets $\Delta i \hat{o}_i$; in this place to signify Fate, not imagining it consistent with the goodness of the supreme being, or Jupiter, to contrive or practice any evil against men. Eustathius makes [Will] here to refer to the promise which Jupiter gave to Thetis, that he would honour her son by siding with Troy, while he should be absent. But to reconcile these two

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

For Chryses sought with costly gifts to gain 15 His captive daughter from the victor's chain.

opinions, perhaps the meaning may be, that when Fate had decreed the destruction of Troy, Jupiter having the power of incidents to bring it to pass, fulfilled that decree by providing means for it. So that the words may thus specify the time of Action from the beginning of the poem, in which those incidents worked, till the promise to Thetis was fulfilled and the destruction of Troy ascertained to the Greeks by the death of Hector. However it is certain that this Poet was not an absolute Fatalist, but still supposed the power of fove superior. for in the fixteenth Iliad, we see him designing to save Sarpedon, though the Fates had decreed his death if Juno had not interposed. Neither docs he exclude free-will in men; for as he attributes the destruction of the Heroes to the will of Fove in the beginning of the Iliad, so he attributes the destruction of Ulysses's friends to their own folly in the beginning of the Odysses.

Αὐτῶν γὰς σφετέρησιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὁλοντο.

y. 9. Declare, O Musc.] It may be questioned whether the first period ends at Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βελη, and the interrogation to the Muse begins with Έξ ε δη τὰ πρῶτα—Or whether the period does not end till the words, δῖος ᾿Αχιλλεύς, with only a single interrogation at Τὶς τ' ἄς σφῶε θεῶν—? I should be inclined to favour the former, and think it a double interrogative, as Milton seems to have done in his imitation of this place at the beginning of Paradise Lost.

——Say first what cause Mov'd our grand parents, &c. And just after, Who first seduc'd them to that soul revolt?

Besides that I think the proposition concludes more nobly with the sentence, Such was the will of Jove. But the latter being followed by most editions, and by all the translations I



Suppliant the venerable father stands,

Apollo's awful ensigns grace his hands:

By these he begs; and lowly bending down,

Extends the sceptre and the laurel crown.

20

He sued to all, but chief implor'd for grace

The Brother-Kings, of Atreus' royal race.

have seen in any language, the general acceptation is here complied with, only transposing the line to keep the sentence last: and the next verses are so turned as to include the double interrogation, and at the same time do justice to another interpretation of the words 'E&& M Tà, Ex quo tempore; which makes the date of the quarrel from whence the poem takes its rise. Chapman would have Ex quo understood of Jupiter, from whom the debate was suggested; but this classes with the line immediately following, where he asks, what God inspired the contention? and answers it was Apollo.

- i. 11. Latona's son.] Here the Author, who first invoked the Muse as the Goddess of Memory, vanishes from the reader's view, and leaves her to relate the whole affair through the poem, whose presence from this time diffuses an air of majesty over the relation. And lest this should be lost to our thoughts in the continuation of the story, he sometimes refreshes them with a new invocation at proper intervals. Eustathius.
- * 20. The sceptre and the laurel crown.] There is something exceedingly venerable in this appearance of the priest. He comes with the ensigns of the God he belonged to; the laurel crown, now carried in his hand, to shew he was a suppliant; and a golden sceptre, which the ancients gave in particular to Apollo, as they did a silver one to the moon, and other sorts to the planets. Eustathius.

II

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Ye Kings and warriors! may your vows be crown'd,

And Troy's proud walls lie level with the ground. May Jove restore you, when your toils are o'er, 25 Sase to the pleasures of your native shore. But oh! relieve a wretched parent's pain, And give Chryseis to these arms again; If mercy fail, yet let my presents move, And dread avenging Phaebus, son of Jove. 30 The Greeks in shouts their joint assent declare, The priest to rev'rence, and release the fair.

y. 23. Ye Kings and warriors.] The art of this speech is remarkable. Chryses considers the constitution of the Greeks before Troy, as made up of troops partly from Kingdoms and partly from Democracies: wherefore he begins with a distinction which comprehends all. After this, as Apollo's priest, he prays that they may obtain the two bleffings they had most in view, the conquest of Troy, and a safe return. Then, as he names his petition, he offers an extraordinary ransom; and concludes with bidding them fear the God if they refuse it; like one who from his office seems to foresee their misery, and exhorts them to shun it. Thus he endeavours to work by the art of a general application, by religion, by interest, and the infinuation of danger. This is the substance of what Eustathius remarks on this place; and in pursuance to his dast observation, the epithet Avenging is added to this version, that it may appear the priest foretells the anger of his God.

Not so Atrides: He, with kingly pride, Repuls'd the facred Sire, and thus reply'd:

Hence on thy life and fly these hostile plains, 35 Nor ask, prefumptuous, what the King detains; Hence, with thy laurel crown, and golden rod, Nor trust too far those ensigns of thy God. Mine is thy daughter, Priest, and shall remain; And pray'rs, and tears, and bribes shall plead in vain; 40

Till time shall rifle ev'ry youthful grace, And age dismiss her from my cold embrace,

- y. 33. He with pride repuls'd.] It has been remarked in honour of Homer's judgment, and the care he took of his reader's morals, that where he speaks of evil actions committed, or hard words given, he generally characterises them as such by a previous expression. This passage is given as one instance of it, where he fays the repulse of Chryses was a proud injurious action in Agamemnon: and it may be remarked, that before his Heroes treat one another with hard language in this book, he still takes care to let us know they were under a distraction of anger. Plutarch, of reading Poets.
- *. 41. Till time shall rise ev'ry youthful grace, And age dismiss her from my cold embrace, In daily labours of the loom employ'd, Or doom'd to deck the bed she once enjoy'd.]

The Greek is autiowan, which fignifies either making the bed, or partaking it. Eustathius and Madam Dacier insist very much upon its being taken in the former sense only, for fear of pre-

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

In daily labours of the loom employ'd,
Or doom'd to deck the bed she once enjoy'd.
Hence then; to Argos shall the maid retire, 45
Far from her native soil, and weeping sire.

The trembling priest along the shore return'd, And in the anguish of a father mourn'd.

fenting a loose idea to the reader, and of offending against the modesty of the Muse, who is supposed to relate the Poem. This observation may very well become a Bishop and a Lady: But that Agamemnon was not studying here for civility of expression, appears from the whole tenor of his speech; and that he designed Chryseis for more than a servant maid, may be seen from some other things he says of her, as that he preserved her to his Queen Clytæmnestra, &c. the imprudence of which confession, Madam Dacier herself has elsewhere animadverted upon. Mr. Dryden, in his translation of this book, has been juster to the royal passion of Agamemnon, though he has carried the point so much on the other side, as to make him promise a greater fondness for her in her old age than in her youth, which indeed is hardly credible.

Mine she shall be, till creeping age and time Her bloom have wither'd, and destroy'd her prime; Till then my nuptial bed she shall attend, And having first adorn'd it, late ascend. This for the night; by day the web and loom, And homely household tasks shall be her doom.

Nothing could have made Mr. Dryden capable of this mistake, but extreme haste in writing; which never ought to be imputed as a fault to him, but to those who suffered so noble a genius to lie under the necessity of it.

*. 47. The trembling priest.] We may take notice here, once for all, that Homer is frequently eloquent in his very

14.

Disconsolate, not daring to complain,
Silent he wander'd by the sounding main: 50
Till, safe at distance, to his God he prays,
The God who darts around the world his rays.

O Smintheus! sprung from fair Latona's line,
Thou guardian pow'r of Cilla the divine, 55
Thou source of light! whom Tenedos adores,
And whose bright presence gilds thy Chrysa's
shores:

If e'er with wreaths I hung thy facred fane,
Or fed the flames with fat of oxen flain;
God of the filver bow! thy fhafts employ,
Avenge thy fervant, and the Greeks destroy. 60
Thus Chryses pray'd: The fav'ring Pow'r attends,

And from Olympus' lofty tops descends.

filence. Chryses says not a word in answer to the Insults of Agamemnon, but walks pensively along the shore: and the melancholy flowing of the verse admirably expresses the condition of the mournful and deserted father.

Βη δ' ακέων σαρά θίνα συλυφλοίσδοιο θαλάσσης.

*. 61. The fav'ring Pow'r attends.] Upon this first prayer in the poem, Eustathius takes occasion to observe, that the poet is careful throughout his whole work to let no prayer ever fall intirely which has justice on its side; but he who

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Bent was his bow, the *Grecian* hearts to wound; Fierce as he mov'd, his filver shafts resound. Breathing revenge, a sudden night he spread, 65 And gloomy darkness roll'd about his head. The fleet in view, he twang'd his deadly bow, And hissing fly the feather'd fates below. On mules and dogs th' infection sirst began; And last, the vengeful arrows six'd in man. 70

prays, either kills his enemy, or has signs given him that he has been heard, or his friends return, or his undertaking succeeds, or some other visible good happens. So far instructive and useful to life has *Homer* made his fable.

#. 67. He twang'd his deadly bow.] In the tenth year of the fiege of Troy, a plague happened in the Grecian camp; occafioned perhaps by immoderate heats and gross exhalations. At the introduction of this accident Homer begins his Poem, and takes occasion from it to open the scene of action with a most beautiful allegory. He supposes that such afflictions are sent from Heaven for the punishment of our evil actions; and because the Sun was a principal Instrument of it, he says it was sent to punish Agamemnon for despising that God, and injuring his Priest. Eustathius.

**. 69. Mules and dogs.] Hippocrates observes two things of plagues; that their cause is in the air, and that different animals are differently touched by them, according to their nature or nourishment. This philosophy Spondanus refers to the plague here mentioned. First, the cause is in the air, by reason of the darts or beams of Apollo. Secondly, the mules and dogs are said to die sooner than the men; partly because they have by nature a quickness of smell, which makes the infection sooner perceivable; and partly by the nourishment they

For nine long nights, thro' all the dusky air
The Pyres thick-flaming shot a dismal glare.
But e'er the tenth revolving day was run,
Inspir'd by Juno, Thetis' god-like son
Conven'd to council all the Grecian train; 75
For much the Goddess mourn'd her Heroes slain.

Th' affembly seated, rising o'er the rest, Achilles thus the King of men addrest:

take, their feeding on the earth with prone heads making the exhalation more eafy to be sucked in with it. Thus has Hippocrates, so long after Homer writ, subscribed to his knowledge in the rise and progress of this distemper. There have been some who have referred this passage to a religious sense, making the death of the mules and dogs before the men to point out a kind of method of providence in punishing, whereby it sends some previous afflictions to warn mankind, so as to make them shun the greater evils by repentance. This Monsieur Dacier, in his notes on Aristotle's art of poetry, calls a Remark persectly fine and agreeable to God's method of sending plagues on the Egyptians, where first horses, asses, were smitten, and afterwards the men themselves.

1. 74. Thetis' god-like son Convenes a council.] On the tenth day a council is held to inquire why the Gods were angry? Plutarch observes, how justly he applies the characters of his persons to the incidents; not making Agamemnon but Achilles call this council, who of all the Kings was most capable of making observations upon the plague, and of foreseeing its duration, as having been bred by Chiron to the study of Physick. One may mention also a remark of Eustathius in pursuance to this, that Juno's advising him in this case might allude to his knowledge of an evil temperament in the air, of which she was Goddess.

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Why leave we not the fatal Trojan shore,
And measure back the seas we cross before? 80
The plague destroying whom the sword would spare,

'Tis time to fave the few remains of war.

But let some Prophet, or some sacred Sage,

Explore the cause of great Apollo's rage;

Or learn the wasteful vengeance to remove, 85

By mystic dreams, for dreams descend from Jove.

y. 79. Why leave we not the fatal Trojan shore, &c.] The artifice of this speech (according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his second discourse, περί ἐσχηματισμένων) is admirably carried on to open an accusation against Agamemnon, whom Achilles suspects to be the cause of all their miseries. He directs himself not to the assembly, but to Agamemnon; he names not only the plague but the war too, as having exhausted them all, which was evidently due to his family. He leads the Augurs he would confult, by pointing at something lately done with respect to Apollo. And while he continues within the guard of civil expression, scattering his insinuations, he encourages those who may have more knowledge to speak out boldly, by letting them see there is a party made for their safety; which has its effect immediately in the following speech of Chalcas, whose demand of protection shows upon whom the offence is to be placed.

y. 86. By mystic dreams.] It does not seem that by the word interpreter of dreams is meant, for we have no hint of any preceding dream which wants to be interpreted. We may therefore more probably refer it to such who used (after performing proper rites) to lie down at some sacred place and expect a dream from the Gods upon any particular



If broken vows this heavy curse have laid, Let altars smoke, and hecatombs be paid. So Heav'n aton'd shall dying *Greece* restore, And *Phæbus* dart his burning shafts no more. 90

He faid, and fat: when Chalcas thus reply'd: Chalcas the wife, the Grecian priest and guide, That sacred Seer, whose comprehensive view The past, the present, and the future knew: Uprising slow, the venerable Sage 95
Thus spoke the prudence and the fears of age.

subject which they desired. That this was a practice among them, appears from the Temples of Amphiaraus in Bæotia and Podalirius in Apulia,. where the inquirer was obliged to fleep at the altar upon the skin of the beatt he had facrificed, in order to obtain an answer. It is in this manner that Latinus in Virgil's seventh book goes to dream in the temple of Faunus, where we have a particular description of the whole custom. Strabo, lib. xvi. has spoken concerning the Temple of Ferusalem as a place of this nature; " where (says he) the 66 people either dreamed for themselves, or procured some " good dreamer to do it." By which it should seem he had read something concerning the visions of their Prophets, as that which Samuel had when he was ordered to sleep a third time before the ark, and upon doing so had an account of the destruction of Eli's house; or that which happened to Solomon, after having facrificed before the ark at Gibeon. The same author has also mentioned the Temple of Serapis in his seventeenth book, as a place for receiving oracles by dreams.

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Belov'd of Jove, Achilles! would'st thou know Why angry Phæbus bends his fatal bow? First give thy faith, and plight a Prince's word Of sure protection, by thy pow'r and sword. 100 For I must speak what wisdom would conceal, And truths, invidious to the Great, reveal. Bold is the task, when subjects grown too wise, Instruct a Monarch where his error lies; For tho' we deem the short-liv'd sury past, 105 'Tis sure, the Mighty will revenge at last.

To whom *Pelides*. From thy inmost foul Speak what thou know'st, and speak without controul.

Ev'n by that God I swear, who rules the day, To whom thy hands the Vows of Greece convey, 110

*. 97. Belov'd of Jove, Achilles!] These appellations of praise and honour, with which the Heroes in Homer so frequently salute each other, were agreeable to the style of the ancient times, as appears from several of the like nature in the scripture. Milton has not been wanting to give his poem this cast of antiquity, throughout which our first parents almost always accost each other with some title, that expresses a respect to the dignity of human nature.

Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve———
Adam, Earth's hallow'd mould of God inspir'd.——
Offspring of heaven and earth, and all earth's Lord, &c.



And whose blest Oracles thy lips declare; Long as Achilles breathes this vital air, No daring Greek of all the num'rous band, Against his Priest shall lift an impious hand: Not ev'n the Chief by whom our hosts are led, 115 The King of Kings, shall touch that sacred head.

Encourag'd thus, the blameless man replies; Nor vows unpaid, nor slighted sacrifice, But he, our Chief, provok'd the raging pest, Apollo's vengeance for his injur'd Priest. 120

y. 115. Not ev'n the Chief] After Achilles had brought in Chalcas by his dark doubts concerning Agamemnon, Chalcas, who perceived them, and was unwilling to be the first that named the King, artfully demands a protection in such a manner, as confirms those doubts, and extorts from Achilles this warm and particular expression, "That he would protect him even " against Agamemnon," (who, as he says, is now the greatest man of Greece, to hint that at the expiration of the war he should be again reduced to be barely King of Mycæne.) This place Plutarch takes notice of as the first in which Achilles. shews his contempt of sovereign authority.

. 117. The blameless.] The epithet ἀμύμων, or blameless, is frequent in Homer, but not always used with so much propriety as here. The reader may observe that care has not been wanting thro' this translation, to preserve those epithets which are peculiar to the author, whenever they receive any beauty from the circumstances about them; as this of blameless manifestly does in the present passage. It is not only applied to a priest, but to one who being conscious of the truth. prepares with an honest boldness to discover it.

21

Book 1. HOMER's ILIAD.

Nor will the God's awaken'd fury cease,
But plagues shall spread, and fun'ral fires increase,
'Till the great King, without a ransom paid,
To her own Chrysa send the black-ey d maid.
Perhaps, with added sacrifice and pray'r,

125
The Priest may pardon, and the God may spare.

The Prophet spoke; when with a gloomy frown The Monarch started from his shining throne; Black choler fill'd his breast that boil'd with ire, And from his eye-balls flash'd the living fire. 130 Augur accurst! denouncing mischief still, Prophet of plagues, for ever boding ill!

* 131. Augur accurst!] This expression is not merely thrown out by chance, but proves what Chalcas said of the King when he asked protection, "That he harboured anger in his Heart." For it aims at the prediction Chalcas had given at Aulis nine years before, for the sacrificing his daughter Iphigenia. Spondanus.

This, and the two following lines, are in a manner repetitions of the same thing thrice over. It is left to the reader to consider how far it may be allowed, or rather praised for a beauty, when we consider with Eustathius that it is a most natural effect of anger to be full of words, and insisting on that which galls us. We may add, that these reiterated expressions might be supposed to be thrown out one after another, as Agamemnon is struck in the consusion of his passion, first by the remembrance of one prophecy, and then of another, which the same man had uttered against him,

HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK I.

Still must that tongue some wounding message bring,

And still thy priestly pride provoke thy King? For this are Phæbus' Oracles explor'd, 135 To teach the Greeks to murmur at their Lord? For this with falsehoods is my honour stain'd, Is Heav'n offended, and a Priest profan'd; Because my Prize, my beauteous maid I hold, And heav'nly charms prefer to proffer'd gold? 140 A maid, unmatch'd in manners as in face, Skill'd in each art, and crown'd with every grace. Not half so dear were Clytæmnestra's charms, When first her blooming beauties blest my arms. Yet if the Gods demand her, let her sail; Our cares are only for the publick weal: Let me be deem'd the hateful cause of all, And suffer, rather than my people fall.

*. 143. Not half so dear were Clytæmnestra's charms.] Aga memnon having heard the charge which Chalcas drew up against him in two particulars, that he had affronted the Priest, and refused to restore his daughter; he offers one answer which gives softening colours to both, that he loved her as well as his Queen Clytæmnestra for her perfections. Thus he would seem to satisfy the father by kindness to his daughter, to excuse himself before the Greeks for what is past, and to make a merit of yielding her, and sacrificing his passion for their safety.

23

Book I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

The prize the beauteous prize, I will refign,
So dearly valu'd, and so justly mine.

But since for common good I yield the fair,
My private loss let grateful Greece repair;
Nor unrewarded let your Prince complain,
That he alone has fought and bled in vain.

Insatiate King (Achilles thus replies)

155
Fond of the pow'r, but sonder of the prize!

*. 155. Insatiate King.] Here, where this passion of anger grows loud, it seems proper to prepare the reader, and prevent his mistake in the character of Achilles, which might shock him in several particulars following. We should know that the Poet rather studied nature than perfection, in the laying down his characters. He resolved to sing the consequences of anger; he confidered what virtues and vices would conduce most to bring his Moral out of the Fable; and artfully difposed them in his chief persons after the manner in which we generally find them; making the fault which most peculiarly attends any good quality, to reside with it. Thus he has placed pride with magnanimity in Agamemnon, and craft with prudence in Ulysses. And thus we must take his Achilles, not as a mere heroick dispassioned character, but as compounded of courage and anger; one who finds himself almost invincible, and assumes an uncontrouled carriage upon the self-consciousness of his worth; whose high strain of honour will not suffer him to betray his friends, or fight against them, even when he thinks they have affronted him; but whose inexorable resentment will not let him hearken to any terms of accommodation. These are the lights and shades of his character, which Homer has heightened and darkened in extremes;

24 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 1.

Would'st thou the Greeks their lawful prey shou d yield,

The due reward of many a well-fought field?
The spoils of cities raz'd, and warriours slain,
We share with justice, as with toil we gain: 100
But to resume whate'er thy av'rice craves
(That trick of tyrants) may be borne by slaves.
Yet if our Chief for plunder only fight,
The spoils of Ilion shall thy loss requite,
Whene'er, by Jove's decree, our conqu'ring
pow'rs

Shall humble to the dust her lofty tow'rs.

Then thus the King. Shall I my prize resign With tame content, and thou possest of thine?

because on the one side valour is the darling quality of Epic Poetry; and on the other, anger the particular subject of this Poem. When characters thus mixed are well conducted, though they be not morally beautiful quite through, they conduce more to the end, and are still poetically perfect.

Plutarch takes occasion from the observation of this conduct in Homer, to applaud his just imitation of nature and truth, in representing virtues and vices intermixed in his Heroes: contrary to the paradoxes and strange positions of the Stoicks, who held that no vice could consist with virtue, nor the least virtue with vice. Plut. de aud. Poetis.

25

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Great a thou art, and like a God in fight,
Think not to rob me of a foldier's right. 170
At thy demand shall I restore the maid?
First let the just equivalent be paid;
Such as a King might ask; and let it be
A treasure worthy her, and worthy me.
Or grant me this, or with a monarch's claim, 175
This hand shall seize some other captive dame.

*. 169. Great as thou art, and like a God in fight.] The words in the original are θεοείκελ' 'Αχιλλεῦ. Ulysses is soon after called Δῖος, and others in other places. The phrase of divine or god-like is not used by the Poet to signify perfection in men, but applied to considerable persons upon account of some particular qualification or advantage, which they were possessed of far above the common standard of mankind. Thus it is ascribed to Achilles on account of his great valour, to Ulysses for his preheminence in wisdom; even to Paris for his exceeding beauty, and to Clytæmnestra for several fair endowments.

* 172. First let the just equivalent.] The reasoning in point of right between Achilles and Agamemnon seems to be this. Mchi/les pleads that Agamemnon could not seize upon any other mans coptive without a new distribution, it being an invasion of private property. On the other hand, as Agamemnon's power was limited, how came it that all the Grecian Captains would submit to an illegal and arbitrary action? I think the legal pretence for his seizing Briseis must have been sounded upon that Law, whereby the Commander in chief had the power of taking what part of the prey he pleased for his own use: and he being obliged to restore what he had taken, it seemed but just that he should have a second choice.



The mighty Ajax shall his prize reagn Ulysses' spoils, or ev'n thy own be mine. The man who fuffers, loudly may complain; And rage he may, but he shall rage in vain. 180 But this when time requires — It now remains We launch a bark to plow the watry plains, And waft the facrifice to Chrysa's shores, With chosen pilots, and with lab'ring oars. Soon shall the fair the sable ship ascend, And some deputed Prince the charge attend; This Creta's King, or Ajax shall fulfill, Or wise Ulysses see perform'd our will; Or, if our royal pleasure shall ordain, Achilles' self conduct her o'er the Main; Let fierce Achilles, dreadful in his rage, The God propitiate, and the pest assuage. At this, Pelides frowning stern, reply'd: O tyrant, arm'd with insolence and pride! Inglorious slave to int'rest, ever join'd 105 With fraud, unworthy of a royal mind! What gen'rous Greek, obedient to thy word, Shall form an ambush, or shall lift the sword?

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

What cause ave I to war at thy decree? The distant Trojans never injur'd me: 200 To Phthia's realms no hostile troops they led, Safe in her vales my warlike courfers sed; Far hence remov'd, the hoarse-resounding main, And walls of rocks, secure my native reign, Whose fruitful soil luxuriant harvests grace, 205 Rich in her fruits, and in her martial race. Hither we fail'd, a voluntary throng, T'avenge a private, not a publick wrong: What else to Troy th' assembled nations draws, But thine, ungrateful, and thy brother's cause? 210 Is this the pay our blood and toils deserve; Difgrac'd and injur'd by the man we serve? And dar'st thou threat to snatch my prize away, Due to the deeds of many a dreadful day?

13. And dar'st thou threat to snatch my prize away, Due to the deeds of many a dreadful day?

The anger of these two Princes was equally upon the account of vomen, but yet it is observable that they are conducted with a different air. Agamemnon appears as a lover, Achilles as a warriour: the one speaks of Chryseis as a beauty whom he valued equal to his wife, and whose merit was too considerable to be easily resigned; the other treats Briseis as a slave, whom he is concerned to preserve in point of honour, and as a testi-

A prize as small, O tyrant! match'd with fillue, 215 As thy own actions if compar'd to mine.

Thine in each conquest is the wealthy prey,

Tho' mine the sweat and danger of the day.

Some trivial present to my ships I bear,

Or barren praises pay the wounds of war. 220

But know, proud monarch, I'm thy slave no more;

My fleet shall waft me to Thessalia's shore.

Left by Achilles on the Trojan plain,

What spoils, what conquests shall Atrides gain?

To this the King: Fly, mighty warriour! fly, 225

Thy aid we need not, and thy threats defy.

mony of his glory. Hence it is that we never hear him mention her but as his Spoil, the Reward of War, the Gift the Grecians gave him, or the like expressions: and accordingly he yields her up, not in grief for a mistress whom he loses, but in sullenness for an injury that is done him. This observation is Madam Dacier's, and will often appear just as we proceed farther. Nothing is finer than the Moral showir us in this quarrel, of the blindness and partiality of mankind to their own faults: the Grecians make a war to recover a women that was ravished, and are in danger to fail in the attemp by a dispute about another. Agamemnon while he is revenging a rape, commits one; and Achilles while he is in the utmost fury himself, reproaches Agamemnon for his passionate temper.

y. 225. Fly, mighty warriour.] Achilles having threatened to leave them in the former speech, and spoken of his warlike

POOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

There want not chiefs in such a cause to fight,
And Jove himself shall guard a monarch's right.
Of all the Kings (the Gods distinguish'd care)
To pow'r superior none such hatred bear: 230
Strite and debate thy restless soul employ,
And wars and horrours are thy savage joy.
If thou hast strength, 'twas Heaven that strength bestow'd,

For know, vain man! thy valour is om God. Haste, launch thy vessels, sly with speed way, 235 Rule thy own realms with arbitrary way:

I heed thee not, but prize at equal rate
Thy short-liv'd friendship, and thy groundless hate.
Go, threat thy earth-born Myrmidons; but here
'Tis mine to threaten, Prince, and thine to fear.

actions; the Poet here puts an artful piece of spite into the mouth of Agamemnon, making him opprobriously brand his retreat as a slight, and lessen the appearance of his courage, by calling it the love of contention and slaughter.

ψ. 229. Kings, the Gods distinguish'd care.] In the original it is Διοδρεφεῖς, or nurst by Jove. Homer often as to call his Kings by such epithets as Διοδερεῖς, born of e Gods, or Διοδρεῶεῖς, bred by the Gods; by which he points at to themselves, the offices they were ordained for; and to their people, the re-

30 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 1.

Know, if the God the beauteous dame demand, My bark shall wast her to her native land; But then prepare, imperious Prince! prepare, Fierce as thou art, to yield thy captive fair: Ev'n in thy tent I'll seize the blooming prize, 245 Thy lov'd Brisës with the radiant eyes. Hence shalt thou prove my might, and curse the hour,

Thou stood'st a rival of imperial pow'r;
And hence to all our host it shall be known,
That Kings are subject to the Gods alone. 250
Achilles heard, with grief and rage opprest,
His heart swell'd high, and labour'd in his breast.
Distracting thoughts by turns his bosom rul'd,
Now fir'd by wrath, and now by reason cool'd:
That prompts his hand to draw the deadly sword,

Force thro' the Greeks, and pierce their haughty Lord;

verence that should be paid them. These expressions are perfectly in the exalted style of the eastern nations, and correspondent to those places of holy scripture where they are called Gods, and the Sons of the most High.

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

This whispers soft, his vengeance to controul,
And calm the rising tempest of his soul.
Just as in anguish of suspence he stay'd
While half unsheath'd appear'd the glitt'ring
blade,
260

Minerva swift descended from above, Sent by the * sister and the wife of Jove;

*. 261. Minerva swift descended from above.] Homer having by degrees raised Achilles to such a pitch of fury, as to make him capable of attempting Agamemnon's life in the council, Pallas the Goddess of Wisdom descends, and being seen only by him, pulls him back in the very instant of execution. He parleys with her a while, as imagining she would advise him to proceed; but upon the promise of such a time wherein there should be a full reparation of his honour, he sheaths his fword in obedience to her. She ascends to Heaven, and he being left to himself, falls again upon his General with bitter expressions. The allegory here may be allowed by every reader to be unforced: the prudence of Achilles checks him in the rashest moment of his anger, it works upon him unseen to others, but does not entirely prevail upon him to defift till he remembers his own importance, and depends upon it that there will be a necessity of their courting him at any expence into the alliance again. Having persuaded himself by such reflections, he forbears to attack his General; but thinking that he facrifices enough to prudence by this forbearance, lets the houghts of it vanish from him; and no sooner is wisdom gone, but he falls into more violent reproaches for the gratification of his passion. All this is a most beautiful passage, whose Moral is evident, and generally agreed on by the Commentators.

(For both the Princes claim'd her equal care)
Behind she stood, and by the golden hair

Achilles seiz'd, to him alone confest; 265
A sable cloud conceal'd her from the rest.

He sees, and sudden to the Goddess cries,

Known by the slames that sparkle from her eyes.

Descends Minerva in her guardian care,

A heav'nly witness of the wrongs I bear 270

y. 258. Known by the flames that sparkle from her eyes.] They who carry on this allegory after the most minute manner, refer this to the eyes of Achilles, as indeed we must, if we entirely destroy the bodily appearance of Minerva. But what Poet designing to have his Moral so open, would take pains to form it into a Fable? In the proper mythological sense, this passage should be referred to Minerva; according to an opinion of the ancients, who supposed that the Gods had a peculiar light in their eyes. That Homer was not ignorant of this opinion, appears from his use of it in other places, as when in the third Iliad Helena by this means discovers Venus: and that he meant it here, is particularly afferted by Heliodorus, in the third book of his Æthiopick history. "The "Gods, fays he, are known in their apparitions to men by "the fixed glare of their eyes, or their gliding passage through " air without moving their feet; these marks Homer has used "from his knowledge of the Ægyptian learning, applying one to Pallas, and the other to Neptune." Madam Dacier has gone into the contrary opinion, and blames Eustathius and others, without overthrowing these authorities, or assigning any other reason, but that it was not proper for Minerva's eyes to sparkle, when her speech was mild.



BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

From Atreus son? Then let those eyes that view The daring crime, behold the vengeance too.

Forbear! (the progeny of Yove replies) To calm thy fury I forsake the skies: Let great Achilles, to the Gods resign'd, 275 To reason yield the empire o'er his mind. By awful Juno this command is giv'n; The King and you are both the care of Heav'n. The force of keen reproaches let him feel, But sheath, obedient, thy revenging steel. 280 For I pronounce (and trust a heav'nly pow'r) Thy injur'd honour has its fated hour, When the proud monarch shall thy arms implore, And bribe thy friendship with a boundless store. Then let revenge no longer bear the sway, 285 Command thy passions, and the Gods obey.

To her *Pelides*. With regardful ear "Tis just, O Goddess! I thy dictates hear. Hard as it is, my vengeance I suppress: Those who revere the Gods, the Gods will bless. 290 He said, observant of the blue-ey'd maid; Then in the sheath return'd the shining blade.

The Goddess swift to high Olympus flies, And joins the facred senate of the skies.

Or nobly face the horrid front of war?

Nor yettherage his boiling breaft forfook, 295 Which thas redoubling on Atrides broke. O monster! mix'd of insolence and fear, Thou dog in forehead, but in heart a deer! When wert thou known in ambush'd fights to dare,

*. 298. Thou dog in forehead.] It has been one of the objections against the manners of Homer's Heroes, that they are abusive. Mons. de la Motte affirms in his discourse upon the Iliad, that great men differ from the vulgar in their manner of expressing their passion; but certainly in violent passions (fuch as those of Achilles and Agamemnon) the Great are as subject as any others to these sallies; of which we have frequent examples both from history and experience. Plutarch, taking notice of this line, gives it as a particular commendation of Homer, that " he constantly affords us a fine lecture of moce rality in his reprehensions and praises, by referring them of not to the goods of fortune or the body, but those of the " mind, which are in our power, and for which we are blameable or praise-worthy. Thus, says he, Agamemnon is reof proached for impudence and fear, Ajax for vain bragging, " Idomeneus for the love of contention, and Ulysses, does not " reprove even Thersites but as a babbler, though he had so "many personal deformities to object to him. In like manor ner also the appellations and epithets with which they accost one another, are generally founded on some distinguishing qualification of merit, as Wife Ulysses, Hector equal to Gove in Wisdom, Achilles chief Giory of the Greeks," and the like. Plutarch of reading Poets.

y. 299. In ambush'd fights to dare.] Homer has magnified the ambush as the boldest manner of fight. They went upon

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Tis ours, the chance of fighting fields to try,
Thine to look on, and bid the Valiant die.
So much 'tis fafer thro' the camp to go,
And rob a subject, than despoil a foe.
Scourge of thy people, violent and base! 305
Sent in Jove's anger on a slavish race,
Who lost to sense of gen'rous freedom past,
Are tam'd to wrongs, or this had been thy last.
Now by this sacred sceptre, hear me swear,
Which never more shall leaves or blossoms bear, 310

those parties with a few men only, and generally the most daring of the army, on occasions of the greatest hazard, where they were therefore more exposed than in a regular battle. Thus *Idomeneus* in the thirteenth book, expressly tells *Meriones*, that the greatest courage appears in this way of service, each man being in a manner singled out to the proof of it. *Eu-stathius*.

\$. 309. Now by this facred sceptre.] Spondanus in this place blames Eustathius, for saying that Homer makes Achilles in his passion swear by the first thing he meets with: and then assigns (as from himself) two causes, which the other had mentioned so plainly before, that it is a wonder they could be overlooked. The substance of the whole passage in Eustathius, is, that if we consider the sceptre simply as wood, Achilles after the manner of the ancients takes in his transport the first thing to swear by; but that Homer himself has in the process of the description assigned reasons why it is proper for the occasion, which may be seen by considering it symbolically. First, That as the wood being cut from the tree will never reunite and slourish, so neither should their amity ever flourish

Which sever'd from the trunk (as I from thee)

On the bare mountains left its parent tree;

again, after they were divided by this contention. Secondly, That a sceptre being the mark of power, and symbol of justice, to swear by it might in effect be construed swearing by the God of Power, and by Justice itself; and accordingly it is spoken of by Aristoile, 3. 1. Polit. as a usual solemn oath of Kings.

I cannot leave this passage without shewing, in opposition to some moderns who have criticised upon it as tedious, that it has been esteemed a beauty by the ancients, and engaged them in its imitation. Virgil has almost transcribed it in his 12 En. for the sceptre of Latinus.

- " Ut sceptrum hoc (sceptrum dextrâ nam forte gerebat)
- "Nunquam fronde levi fundet virgulta nec umbras;
- "Cùm semel in sylvis imo de stirpe recisum,
- Matre caret, posuitque comas & brachia ferro:
- "Olim arbos, nunc artificis manus ære decoro
- " Inclusit, patribusque dedit gestare Latinis."

But I cannot think this comes up to the spirit or propriety of *Homer*, notwithstanding the judgment of *Scaliger*, who decides for *Virgil*, upon a trivial comparison of the wording in each, *l. 5. cap. 3. Poet.* It fails in a greater point than any he has mentioned, which is, that being there used on occasion of a peace, it has no emblematical reference to division, and yet describes the cutting of the wood and its incapacity to bloom and branch again, in as many words as *Homer*. It is borrowed by *Valerius Flaccus* in his third book, where he makes *Jason* swear as a warriour by his spear,

- " Hanc ego magnanimi spolium Didymaonis hastam,
- "Ut semel est avulsa jugis a matre perempta,
- "Quæ neque jam frondes virides neque proferet umbras,
- "Fida ministeria & duras obit horrida pugnas,
- " Teftor."

BOOK 1. HOMER'S ILIAD.

This sceptre, form'd by temper'd steel to prove An ensign of the delegates of Jove.

From whom the pow'r of laws and justice springs:

(Tremendous oath! inviolate to Kings)

By this I swear, when bleeding Greece again Shall call Achilles, she shall call in vain.

When flush'd with slaughter, Hector comes to spread

The purpled shore with mountains of the dead, 320 Then shalt thou mourn th' affront thy madness gave,

Forc'd to deplore, when impotent to fave; Then rage in bitterness of soul, to know This act has made the bravest Greek thy foe.

And indeed, however he may here borrow some expressions from Virgil, or fall below him in others, he has nevertheless kept to Homer in the emblem, by introducing the oath upon Jason's grief for sailing to Colchis without Hercules, when he had separated him from the body of the Argonauts to search after Hylas. To render the beauty of this passage more manifest, the allusion is inserted (but with the sewest words possible) in this translation.

y. 324. Thy rashness made the bravest Greek thy soc.] If self-praise had not been agreeable to the haughty nature of Achilles, yet Plutarch has mentioned a case, and with respect

AL IT O

He spoke; and furious hurl'd against the ground

His Sceptre starr'd with golden studs around. Then steinly silent sat. With like disdain, The raging King return'd his frowns again.

To calm their passion with the words of age, Slow from his seat arose the *Pylian* sage, 330 Experienc'd *Nestor*, in persuasion skill'd, Words, sweet as honey, from his lips distill'd: Two generations now had past away, Wise by his rules, and happy by his sway;

to him, wherein it is allowable. He says that Achilles has at other times ascribed his success to Jupiter, but it is permitted to a man of merit and figure who is injuriously dealt with, to speak frankly of himself to those who are forgetful and unthankful.

*. 333. Two generations.] The Commentators make not Nefter to have lived three hundred years (according to Ovid's opinion;) they take the word $\gamma_{5.5}$ not to fignify a century or age of the world; but a generation, or compass of time in which one set of men flourish, which in the common computation is thirty years; and accordingly is here translated as much the more probable.

From what Nester says in this speech, Madam Dacier computes the age he was of at the end of the Trojan war. The fight of the Lapithæ and Centaurs sell out sifty-sive or sifty-six years before the war of Troy: the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles happened in the tenth and last year of that war. It was then sixty-sive or sixty-six years since Nester sought against

Two ages o'er his native realm he reign'd, 335 And now th' example of the third remain'd.

All view'd with awe the venerable man;

Who thus with mild benevolence began:

What shame, what woe is this to Greece! what joy

To Troy's proud monarch, and the friends of Troy!

the Centaurs; he was capable at that time of giving counsel; so that one cannot imagine him to have been under twenty: from whence it will appear that he was now almost arrived to the conclusion of his third age, and about fourscore and five,

or fourscore and six years of age.

*. 339. What shame.] The quarrel having risen to its highest extravagance, Nestor the wisest and most aged Greek is raised to quiet the Princes, whose speech is therefore framed entirely with an opposite air to all which has been hitherto said, sedate and inoffensive. He begins with a soft affectionate complaint, which he opposes to their threats and haughty language; he reconciles their attention in an awful manner, by putting them in mind that they hear one whom their fathers and the greatest Heroes had heard with deference, He sides with neither, that he might not anger any one, while he advises them to the proper methods of reconciliation; and he appears to fide with both while he praises each, that they may be induced by the recollection of one another's worth to return to that amity which would bring success to the cause. It was not however consistent with the plan of the poem, that they should entirely be appeased, for then the anger would be at an end, which was proposed as the subject of the poem. Homer has not therefore made this speech to have its full

HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 1.

That adverse Gods commit to stern debate The best, the bravest of the Grecian state. Young as ye are this youthful heat restrain, Nor think your Nestor's years and wisdom vain. A Godlike race of Heroes once I knew, Such, as no more these aged eyes shall view! Lives there a chief to match Pirithous' fame, Dryas the bold, or Ceneus' deathless name; Theseus, endu'd with more than mortal might, Or Polyphemus, like the Gods in fight? 350 With these of old to toils of battle bred, In early youth my hardy days I led;

success; and yet that the eloquence of his Nestor might not be thrown out of character by its proving unavailable, he takes care that the violence with which the dispute was managed should abate immediately upon his speaking; Agamemnon confesses that all he spoke was right, Achilles promises not to fight for Briseis if she should be sent for, and the council dissolves.

It is to be observed that this character of authority and wisdom in Nestor, is every where admirably used by Homer, and made to exert itself through all the great emergencies of the poem. As he quiets the Princes here, he proposes that expedient which reduces the army into their order after the Sedition in the second book. When the Greeks are in the utmost distresses, 'tis he who advises the building the fortification before the fleet, which is the chief means of preserving them. And it is by his persuasion that Patroclus puts on the grmour of Achilles, which occasions the return of that Hero and the conquest of Troy.

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Tir'd with the thirst which virtuous envy breeds, And smit with love of honourable deeds.

Strongest of men, they pierc'd the mountain boar, Rang'd the wild deserts red with monsters gore,

And from their hills the shaggy Centaurs tore. J Yet these with soft, persuasive arts I sway'd; When Nestor spoke, they listen'd and obey'd. If in my youth, ev'n these esteem'd me wise; 360 Do you, young warriours, hear my age advise. Atrides seize not on the beauteous slave; That prize the Greeks by common suffrage gave: Nor thou, Achilles, treat our Prince with pride; Let Kings be just, and sov'reign power preside. Thee, the first honours of the war adorn, Like Gods in strength, and of a Goddess born; Him, awful majesty exalts above The pow'rs of earth, and scepter'd sons of Fove. Let both unite with well-consenting mind, 370 So shall authority with strength be join'd. Leave me, O King! to calm Achilles' rage; Rule thou thyself, as more advanc'd in age.

42 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 1.

Forbid it Gods! Achilles should be lost,

The pride of Greece, and bulwark of our

host.

375

This faid, he ceas'd: the King of men replies:
Thy years are awful, and thy words are wife.
But that imperious, that unconquer'd foul,
No laws can limit, no respect controul.
Before his pride must his superiours fall, 380
His word the law, and he the Lord of all?
Him must our hosts, our chiefs, ourself obey?
What King can bear a rival in his sway?
Grant that the Gods his matchless force have giv'n;

Has foul reproach a privilege from heav'n? 385

Here on the Monarch's speech Achilles broke,
And surious, thus, and interrupting spoke.

Tyrant, I well deserv'd thy galling chain,
To live thy slave, and still to serve in vain;
Should I submit to each unjust decree: 390

Command thy vassals, but command not me.

Seize on Briseis, whom the Grecians doom'd

My prize of war, yet tamely see resum'd;

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

And seize secure; no more Achilles draws
His conqu'ring sword in any woman's cause. 395
The Gods command me to forgive the past;
But let this first invasion be the last:

For know, thy blood, when next thou dar'st invade,

Shall stream in vengeance on my reeking blade.

At this they ceas'd; the stern debate expir'd: 400 The chiefs in sullen majesty retir'd.

Achilles with Patroclus took his way, Where near his tents his hollow vessels lay.

*. 394. — — — No more Achilles draws
His conqu'ring sword in any woman's cause.]

When Achilles promises not to contest for Briseis, he expresses it in a sharp despising air, I will not fight for the sake of a woman: by which he glances at Helena, and casts an oblique reflection upon those commanders whom he is about to leave at the siege for her cause. One may observe how well it is fancied of the Poet, to make one woman the ground of a quarrel which breaks an alliance that was only formed upon account of another: and how much the circumstance thus considered contributes to keep up the anger of Adilles, for carrying on the Poem beyond this dissolution of the council. For (as he himself argues with Ulysses in the inth liad) it is as reasonable for him to retain his anger upon the account of Briseis, as for the brothers with all Greece to carry on a war upon the score of Helena. I do not know that any commentator has taken notice of the farcasin of Achilles, which I think very obvious one,

44 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK

Mean time Atrides launch'd with num'rous oars

A well-rigg'd ship for Chrysa's facred shores: 405 High on the deck was fair Chryseis plac'd, And sage Ulysses with the condust grac'd: Safe in her sides the hecatomb they stow'd, Then swiftly sailing, cut the liquid road.

The host to expiate, next the King prepares, 410 With pure lustrations, and with solemn pray'rs. Wash'd by the briny wave, the pious train Are cleans'd; and cast th' ablutions in the main. Along the shore whole hecatombs were laid, And bulls and goats to *Phæbus*' altars paid. 415 The sable sumes in curling spires arise, And wast their grateful odours to the skies.

y. 413. Th' ablutions.] All our former English translations seem to have erred in the sense of this line, the word λύμαλα being differently rendered by them, offals, or entrails, or purgaments, or ordures, a gross sett of ideas, of which Homer is not guilty. The word comes from λέω, eluo, the same erb from whence ἐπιλυμαίνοιλο, which precedes in the line, i derived. So that the sense appears to be as it is rendered here, [They washed, and threw away their washings.] Perhaps this lustration might be used as a physical remedy in cleansing them from the infection of the plague; as Pausanias tells us it was by the Arcadians, from whence he says the plague was called λύμη by the Greeks.

Book 1. HOMER'S ILIAD.

The army thus in facred rites engag'd,

Atrides still with deep resentment rag'd.

To wait his will two facred heralds stood, 420

Talthybius and Eurybates the good.

Haste to the fierce Achilles' tent (he cries)

Thence bear Briseis as our royal prize:

Submit he must; or if they will not part,

Th'unwilling heralds act their lord's commands;
Pensive they walk along the barren sands:
Arriv'd, the Hero in his tent they find,
With gloomy aspect, on his arm reclin'd.
At awful distance long they silent stand, 430
Loth to advance, or speak their hard command;

Ourself in arms shall tear her from his heart. 425

y. 430. At awful distance silent.] There was required a very remarkable management to preserve all the characters which are concerned in this nice conjecture, wherein the heralds were to obey at their peril; Agamemnon was to be gratified by an insult on Achilles; and Achilles was to suffer so as migh ecome his pride, and not have his violent temper provoked. From all this the Poet has sound the secret to extricate himself, by only taking care to make his heralds stand in sight, and silent. Thus they neither make Agamemnon's majesty suffer by uttering their message submissively, nor occasion a rough treatment from Achilles by demanding Brises in the peremptory air he ordered; and at the same time Achilles is gratisfied with the opportunity of giving her up, as if he rather

Decent confusion! This the Godlike man Perceiv'd, and thus with accent mild began.

With leave and honour enter our abodes, Ye facred ministers of men and Gods! 435 I know your message; by constraint you came; Not you, but your imperious lord I blame. Patroclus haste, the fair Briseis bring; Conduct my captive to the haughty King. But witness, heralds, and proclaim my vow, 440 Witness to Gods above, and men below! But first, and loudest, to your Prince declare, That lawless tyrant whose commands you bear; Unmov'd as death Achilles shall remain, Tho' prostrate Greece should bleed at ev'ry vein: The raging Chief in frantick passion lost, 446 Blind to himself, and useless to his host, Unskill'd to judge the future by the past, In blood and slaughter shall repent at last.

Patroclus now th' unwilling beauty brought; She, in foft forrows, and in pensive thought, 451

fent her than was forced to relinquish her. The art of this has been taken notice of by Eustathius.

*. 451. She, in soft sorrows.] The behaviour of Briseis in her departure is no less beautifully imagined than the former.

BOOK I. HOMERS ILIAD.

Past silent, as the heralds held her hand,
And oft look'd back, slow-moving o'er the strand.
Not so his loss the fierce Achilles bore;
But sad retiring to the sounding shore,
O'er the wild margin of the deep he hung,
That kindred deep, from whence his mother sprung:

There, bath'd in tears of anger and disdain, Thus loud lamented to the stormy main.

A French or Italian Poet had lavished all his wit and passion in two long speeches on this occasion, which the heralds must have wept to hear; instead of which, Homer gives us a fine picture of nature. We see Briseis passing unwillingly along, with a dejected air, melted in tenderness, and not able to utter a word: and in the lines immediately following, we have a contraste to this in the gloomy resentment of Achilles, who suddenly retires to the shore and vents his rage aloud to the seas. The variation of the numbers just in this place adds a great beauty to it, which has been endeavoured at in the translation.

place that it is no weakness in Heroes to weep, but the very effect of humanity and proof of a generous temper; for which he off several instances, and takes notice that if Sophocles would not let Ajax weep, it is because he is drawn rather as a madman than a hero. But this general observation is not all we can offer in excuse for the tears of Achilles: his are tears of anger and disdain (as I have ventured to call them in the translation) of which a great and fiery temper is more susceptible than any other; and even in this case Homer has taken care to preserve the high character, by making him re-

48 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 1.

O parent Goddess! since in early bloom 460 Thy son must fall, by too severe a doom; Sure, to so short a race of glory born, Great Jove in justice should this span adorn: Honour and same at least the Thund'rer ow'd, And ill he pays the promise of a God; 465

tire to vent his tears out of fight. And we may add to these an observation of which Madam Dacier is sond. The reason why Agamemnon parts not in tears from Chryseis, as Achilles does from Briseis: the one parts willingly from his mistress; and because he does it for his people's safety, it becomes an honour to him: and the other is parted unwillingly, and because his General takes her by sorce, the action restects a dishonour upon him.

*. 464. The Thund'rer ow'd.] This alludes to a story which Achilles tells the ambassadors of Agamemnon, Il. ix. That he had the choice of two sates: one less glorious at home, but blessed with a very long life; the other full of glory at Troy, but then he was never to return. The alternative being thus proposed to him (not from Jupiter but Thetis who revealed the decree) he chose the latter, which he looks upon as his due, since he gives away length of life for it: and accordingly when he complains to his mother of the disgrace he lies under, it is in this manner he makes a demand of honour.

Mons. de la Motte very judiciously observes, that but for this fore-knowledge of the certainty of his Troy, Achilles's character could have drawn but little esteem from the reader. A hero of a vicious mind, blest only with a superiority of strength, and invulnerable into the bargain, was not very proper to excite admiration; but Homer by this exquisite piece of art has made him the greatest of heroes, who is still pursuing glory in contempt of death, and even under that certainty generously devoting himself in every action.

MAINT OF

49

Book 1. HOMER'S ILIAD.

If yon' proud monarch thus thy son defies, Obscures my glories, and resumes my prize.

Far from the deep recesses of the main,
Where aged Ocean holds his wat ry reign,
The Goddess-mother hear'd. The waves divide;
And like a mist she rose above the tide; 471
Beheld him mourning on the naked shores,
And thus the forrows of his soul explores.
Why grieves my son? Thy anguish let me share,
Reveal the cause, and trust a parent's care. 475
He deeply sighing said: To tell my woe,
Is but to mention what too well you know.
From Thebe sacred to Apollo's name,
(Aetion's realm) our conqu'ring army came,

v. 478. From Thebe.] Homer, who opened his poem with the action which immediately brought on Achilles's anger, being now to give an account of the same thing again, takes his rise more backward in the story. Thus the reader is informed in what he should know, without having been delayed from entering upon the promised subject. This is the first attempt which we see made towards the poetical method of narration, which differs from the historical, in that it does not proceed always directly in the line of time, but sometimes relates things which have gone before, when a more proper opportunity demands it, to make the narration more informing or beautiful.

HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK I.

50

With treasure loaded and triumphant spoils, 480° Whose just division crown'd the soldier's toils; But bright Chryseis, heav'nly prize! was led By vote selected, to the Gen'ral's bed. The priest of Phæbus sought by gifts to gain His beauteous daughter from the victor's chain;

The fleet he reach'd, and lowly bending down, Held forth the sceptre and the laurel crown,

The foregoing remark is in regard only to the first fix lines of this speech. What follows is a rehearsal of the preceding action of the poem, almost in the same words he had used in the opening it; and is one of those faults which has with most justice been objected to our Author. It is not to be denied but the account must be tedious, of what the reader had been just before informed; and especially when we are given to understand it was no way necessary, by what Achilles says at the beginning, that Thetis knew the whole story already. As to repeating the same lines, a practice usual with Homer, it is not so excusable in this place as in those, where messages are delivered in the words they were received, or the like; it being unnatural to imagine, that the person whom the Poet introduces as actually speaking, Abult fall into the self-same words that are used in the narration by the Poet himself. Yet Milton was so great an admirer and imitator of our Author, as not to have scrupled even this kind of repetition. The passage is at the end of his tenth book, where Adam having declared he would prostrate himself before God in certain particular acts of humiliation, those acts are immediately after described by the Poet in the same words.

5 I

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Entreating all: but chief implor'd for grace
The Brother-Kings of Atreus' royal race:
The gen'rous Greeks their joint confent declare, 490
The priest to rev'rence, and release the fair;
Not so Atrides: He, with wonted pride,
The sire insulted, and his gifts deny'd:
Th' insulted sire (his God's peculiar care)
To Phæbus pray'd, and Phæbus heard the pray'r:

A dreadful plague enfires; th' avenging darts
Incessant fly, and pierce the *Grecian* hearts.
A prophet then, inspir'd by heav'n arose,
And points the crime, and thence derives the
woes:

Myself the sirst th' assembled chiefs incline 500 T' avert the vengeance of the pow'r divine; Then rising in his wrath, the monarch storm'd; Ircens d in threaten'd, and his threats perform'd: The fair Chryseis to her sire was sent, With offer'd gifts to make the God relent; 505 But now he seiz'd Briseis' heav'nly charms, And of my valour's prize defrauds my arms,



Defrauds the votes of all the Grecian train;
And service, faith, and justice plead in vain.
But Goddess! thou thy suppliant son attend, 510
To high Osympus' shining court ascend,
Urge all the ties to former service ow'd,
And sue for vengeance to the thund'ring God.
Oft hast thou triumph'd in the glorious boast,
That thou stood'st forth of all th' æthereal host,

Achilles is here made to put into the mouth of Thetis, is most artfully contrived to suit the present exigency. You, says he, must intreat Jupiter to bring miseries on the Greeks, who are protected by Juno, Neptune, and Minerva: put him therefore in mind that those Deities were once his enemies, and adjure him by that service you did him when those very powers would have bound him, that he will now in his turn assist you against the endeavours they will oppose to my wishes. Eustathius.

As for the story itself, some have thought (with whom is Madam Dacier) that there was some impersect tradition of the sall of the Angels for their rebellion, which the Greeks had received by commerce with Egypt: and thus they account the rebellion of the Gods, the precipitation of Vulcan from heaver, and fove's threatening the inferiour Gods with Tartarus, but as so many hints of scripture faintly imitated. But it seems not improbable that the wars of the Gods, described by the Poets, allude to the consusion of the elements before they were brought into their natural order. It is almost generally agreed that by Jupiter is meant the Ether, and by Juno the Air: the ancient Philosophers supposed the Ether to be ig-

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

When bold rebellicn shook the realms above,
Th' undaunted guard of cloud-compelling Jove.
When the bright partner of his awful reign,
The warlike maid, and monarch of the main,
The Traitor-Gods, by mad ambition driv'n, 520
Durst threat with chains th' omnipotence of heav'n.

Then call'd by thee, the monster Titan came, (Whom Gods Briareus, Men Ægeon name)
Thro' wondring skies enormous stalk'd along;
Not * he that shakes the solid earth so strong: 525

neous, and by its kind influence upon the Air to be the cause of all vegetation: therefore Homer says in the xivth Iliad, That upon Jupiter's embracing his wife, the earth put forth its plants. Perhaps by Thetis's assisting Jupiter, may be meant that the watry element subsiding and taking its natural place, put an end to this combat of the elements.

#. 523. Whom Gods Briareus, Men Ægeon name.] This manner of making the Gods speak a language different from men (which is frequent in Homer) is a circumstance that as far as it widens the distinction between divine and human natures, so far might tend to heighten the reverence paid the Gods. But besides this, as the difference is thus told in Poetry, it is of use to the Poets themselves: for it appears like a kind of testimony of their inspiration, or their converse with the Gods, and thereby gives a majesty to their works.

* Neptunc.

54 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 1.

With giant-pride at Jove's high throne he stands, And brandish'd round him all his hundred hands; Th' affrighted Gods confess'd their awful lord, They dropt the fetters, trembled and ador'd. This, Goddess, this to his remembrance call, 530 Embrace his knees, at his tribunal fall; Conjure him far to drive the Grecian train, To hurl them headlong to their fleet and main, To heap the shores with copious death, and bring The Greeks to know the curse of such a King: 535 Let Agamemnon lift his haughty head O'er all his wide dominion of the dead, And mourn in blood, that e'er he durst disgrace The boldest warriour of the Grecian race.

Unhappy fon! (fair Thetis thus replies, 540 While tears celestial trickle from her eyes)
Why have I born thee with a mother's throes,
To fates averse, and nurs'd for future woes?
So short a space the light of heav'n to view!
So short a space! and fill'd with sorrow too! 545
O might a parent's careful wish prevail,
Far, far from Ilion should thy vessels sail,

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

And thou, from camps remote, the danger shun, Which now, alas! too nearly threats my son. Yet (what I can) to move thy suit I'll go 550 To great Olympus crown'd with sleecy snow. Mean time, secure within thy ships, from far Behold the field, nor mingle in the war. The sire of Gods and all th' æthereal train, On the warm limits of the farthest main, 555 Now mix with mortals, nor disdain to grace The feasts of Æthiopia's blameless race;

** 557. The feasts of Æthiopia's blameless race.] The Æthiopians, says Diodorus, l. 3. are said to be the inventors of pomps, sacrifices, solemn meetings, and other honours paid to the Gods. From hence arose their character of piety, which is here celebrated by Homer. Among these there was an annual feast at Diospolis, which Eustathius mentions, wherein they carried about the statues of Jupiter and the other Gods, for twelve days, according to their number: to which if we add the ancient custom of setting meat before statues, it will appear a rite from which this sable might easily arise. But it would be a great mistake to imagine from this place, that Homer represents the Gods as eating and drinking upon earth: a gross notion he was never guilty of, as appears from these verses in the fifth book, v. 340.

Ίχως οδός τε ξέει μακάςεσσι θεοίσιν;
Οὐ γας σίτον ἔδυσ', ἐ τίνυσ' αἴθοπα οἶνον,
Τένεκ ἀναίμονές εἰσι, καὶ ἀθάναδοι καλέονδαι.

(Επροκελείτε Ισιοκολοίτε Το προκελείτε Ι΄ Εριωθοίτε Το ποροκολοίτε Ι΄ Εριωθοίτε Το ποροκολοίτε Ι΄ Εριωθοίτε Το ποροκολοίτε Ι΄ Εριωθοίτε Ι

(For not the bread of man their life sustains, Nor wine's inflaming juice supplies their veins.)

56 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 1.

Twelve days the pow'rs indulge the genial rite,
Returning with the twelfth revolving light.
Then will I mount the brazen dome, and move 560
The high tribunal of immortal Fove.

The Goddess spoke: the rolling waves unclose; Then down the deep she plung'd from whence she rose,

And left him forrowing on the lonely coast, In wild resentment for the fair he lost. 565

In Chrysis port now fage Ulysses rode; Beneath the deck the destin'd victims stow'd; The fails they furl'd, they lash'd the mast aside,. And dropt their anchors, and the pinnace ty'd.

Macrobius would have it, that by Jupiter here is meant the fun, and that the number twelve hints at the twelve signs; but whatever may be said in a critical defence of this opinion, I believe the reader will be satisfied that Homer, considered as a Poet, would have his machinery understood upon that fystem of the Gods which is properly Grecian.

One may take notice here, that it were to be wished some passage were sound in any authentick author, that might tell us the time of the year when the *Æthiopians* kept this sessival at *Diospolis*: for from thence one might determine the precise season of the year wherein the actions of the *Iliad* are represented to have happened; and perhaps by that means farther explain the beauty and propriety of many passages in the poem.

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Next on the shore their hecatomb they land, 570 Chryseis last descending on the strand.

Her, thus returning from the furrow'd main, Ulysses led to Phæbus' sacred fane;

Where at his solemn altar, as the maid

He gave to Chryses, thus the Hero said. 575

Hail rev'rend priest! to Phæbus' awful dome
A suppliant I from great Atrides come:
Unransom'd here receive the spotless fair;
Accept the hecatomb the Greeks prepare;

And may thy God who scatters darts around, 580 Aton'd by sacrifice, desist to wound.

At this, the fire embrac'd the maid again,
So fadly loft, so lately sought in vain.
Then near the altar of the darting King,
Dispos'd in rank their hecatomb they bring: 585
With water purify their hands, and take
The facred off'ring of the salted cake;
While thus with arms devoutly rais'd in air,
And solemn voice, the Priest directs his pray'r.

God of the filver bow, thy ear incline, 590 Whose pow'r encircles Cilla the divine;

Whose sacred eye thy *Tenedos* surveys,
And gilds fair *Chrysa* with distinguish'd rays!

If, fir'd to vengeance at thy priest's request,
Thy direful darts inslict the raging pest; 595

Once more attend! avert the wastful woe,
And smile propitious, and unbend thy bow.

So Chryses pray'd, Apollo heard his pray'r:
And now the Greeks their hecatomb prepare;
Between their horns the salted barley threw, 600
And with their heads to heav'n the victims slew:

*. 600. The sacrifice.] If we consider this passage, it is not made to shine in poetry; all that can be done is to give it numbers, and endeavour to set the particulars in a distinct view. But if we take it in another light, and as a piece of learning, it is valuable for being the most exact account of the ancient sacrifices any where left us. There is first the purification, by washing of hands: secondly the offering up of prayers: thirdly the Mola, or barley-cake thrown upon the victim: fourthly the manner of killing it with the head turned upwards to the celestial Gods (as they turned it downwards when they offered to the infernals:) fifthly their selecting the thighs and fat for their Gods as the best of the sacrifice, and the disposing about them pieces cut from every part for a representation of the whole; (hence the thighs, or unpia, are frequently used in Homer and the Greek Poets for the whole victim:) fixthly the libation of wine feventhly confunding the thighs in the fire of the altar: eighthly the facrificers dreiling and feasting on the rest, with joy and hymns to the Gods. Thus punctually have the ancient Poets, and in particular Homer, written with a care and respect to reli

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

The limbs they sever from th' inclosing hide; The thighs, selected to the Gods, divide: On these, in double cawls involv'd with art, The choicest morsels lay from ev'ry part. The Priest himself before his altar stands, And burns the off'ring with his holy hands, Pours the black wine, and sees the flames aspire; The youth with instruments surround the fire: The thighs thus facrific'd, and entrails dreft, 610 Th' affistants part, transfix, and roast the rest: Then spread the tables, the repast prepare, Each takes his feat, and each receives his share. When now the rage of hunger was represt, With pure libations they conclude the feast; 615

gion. One may question whether any country, as much a stranger to christianity as we are to heathenism, might be so well informed by our Poets in the worship belonging to any profession of religion at present.

I am obliged to take notice how entirely Mr. Dryden has mistaken the sense of this passage, and the custom of antiqui y; for in his translation, the cakes are thrown into the fire instead of being cast on the victim; the sacrificers are made to eat the thighs and whatever belonged to the Gods; and no part of the victim is consumed for a burnt offering, so that in effect there is no sacrifice at all. Some of the mistakes (particularly that of turning the roast meat on the spits, which was not known in Homer's days) he was led into by Chapman's translation.

The youths with wine the copious goblets crown d,
And pleas'd, difpense the flowing bowls around.
With hymns divine the joyous banquet ends,
The Pæans lengthen'd till the sun descends:
The Greeks, restor'd, the grateful notes prolong;

Apollo listens, and approves the fong.

'Twas night; the Chiefs beside their vessel lie,
'Till rosy morn had purpled o'er the sky:
Then launch, and hoise the mast; indulgent
gales,

Supply'd by *Phæbus*, fill the fwelling fails; 625 The milk-white canvas bellying as they blow, The parted ocean foams and roars below: Above the bounding billows fwift they flew, 'Till now the *Grecian* camp appear'd in view. Far on the beach they haul their bark to land, 630 (The crooked keel divides the yellow fand) Then part, where ftretch'd along the winding bay The ships and tents in mingled prospect lay.

But raging still, amidst his navy sat

The stern Achilles, stedfast in his hate; 635

Nor mix'd in combat, nor in council join'd;
But wasting cares lay heavy on his mind:
In his black thoughts revenge and slaughter roll,
And scenes of blood rise dreadful in his soul.

Twelve days were past, and now the dawning light

The Gods had summon'd to th' Olympian height:

Jove first ascending from the wat'ry bow'rs,

Leads the long order of æthereal pow'rs.

When like the morning mist in early day,

Rose from the flood the daughter of the sea; 645

And to the seats divine her slight addrest.

There, far apart, and high above the rest,

The thund'rer sat; where old Olympus shrouds

His hundred heads in Heav'n, and props the clouds.

Suppliant the Goddess stood: one hand she

plac'd

Beneath his beard, and one his knees embrac'd. If e'er, O father of the Gods! she said, My words could please thee, or my actions aid; Some marks of honour on my son bestow, And pay in glory what in life you owe. 655

MENTO

Fame is at least by heav'nly promise due

To o short, and now dishonour'd too.

Avenge this wrong, oh ever just and wise!

Let Greece be humbled, and the Trojans rise;

Till the proud King, and all th' Achaian race 660

Shall heap with honours him they now disgrace.

Thus Thetis spoke, but Jove in silence held
The facred councils of his breast conceal'd.
Not so repuls'd, the Goddess closer prest,
Still grasp'd his knees, and urg'd the dear request.

665

O Sire of Gods and Men! thy suppliant hear;
Refuse, or grant; for what has Jove to sear?
Or oh! declare, of all the pow'rs above,
Is wretched Thetis least the care of Jove?
She said, and sighing thus the God replies, 670
Who rolls the thunder o'er the vaulted skies.
What hast thou ask'd? Ah why should Jove

In foreign contests and domestick rage,
The Gods complaints, and Juno's fierce alarms,
While I, too partial, aid the Trojan Arms? 675

engage

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Go, lest the haughty partner of my sway
With jealous eyes thy close access survey;
But part in peace, secure thy pray r is sped:
Witness the sacred honours of our head,
The Nod that ratisfies the will divine,
680
The faithful, six'd, irrevocable sign;
This seals thy suit, and this fulfils thy vows—
He spoke, and awful bends his sable brows;

*. 681. The faithful, fix'd, irrevocable fign.] There are among men three things by which the efficacy of a promise may be void; the design not to perform it, the want of power to bring it to pass, and the instability of our tempers; from all which Homer saw that the divinity must be exempted, and therefore he describes the nod, or ratification of Jupiter's word, as faithful, in opposition to fraud; sure of being performed, in opposition to weakness, and irrevocable, in opposition to our repenting of a promise. Eustathius.

*Majesty of Jupiter has something exceedingly grand and venerable. Macrobius reports, that Phidias having made his Olympian Jupiter, which past for one of the greatest miracles of art, was asked from what pattern he framed so divine a figure, and answered, it was from that archetype which he sound in these lines of Homer. The same author has also taken notice of Virgil's imitating it, l. 1.

- 66 Dixerat, idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,
- e Per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas;
- « Annuit, & totum nutu tremefecit Olympum."

Here indeed he has preserved the nod with its stupendous effect, the making the heavens tremble. But he has neglected Shakes his ambrofial curls, and gives the nod? The stamp of fate, and sanction of the God: 685 High Heav'n with trembling the dread signal took, And all Olympus to the centre shook.

Swift to the seas profound the Goddess flies, Jove to his starry mansion in the skies.

The shining synod of th' immortals wait 690 The coming God, and from their thrones of state Arising silent, wrapt in holy fear,

Before the Majesty of Heav'n appear.

Trembling they stand, while Jove assumes the throne,

All, but the God's imperious Queen alone: 695

the description of the eye-brows and the hair, those chief pieces of imagery from whence the artist took the idea of a countenance proper for the King of Gods and Men.

Thus far Macrobius, whom Scaliger answers in this manner; Aut ludunt Phidiam, aut nos ludit Phidias: Etiam sine Homero puto illum scisse, Jovem non carere superciliis & cæsarie.

*. 694. Jove assumes the throne.] As Homer makes the first council of his men to be one continued scene of anger, whereby the Grecian chiefs became divided, so he makes the first meeting of the Gods to be spent in the same passion; whereby fupiter is more fixed to assist the Trojans, and Juno more incensed against them. Thus the design of the poem goes on: the anger which began the book overspreads all existent beings by the latter end of it: heaven and earth become engaged in the subject, by which it rises to a great importance

Book I. HOMER's ILIAD.

Late had she view'd the silver-footed dame, And all her passions kindled into slame. Say, artful manager of heav'n (she cries) Who now partakes the secrets of the skies?

in the reader's eyes, and is hastened forward into the briskest scenes of action that can be framed upon that violent passion.

v. 698. Say, artful manager.] The Gods and Goddesses being described with all the desires and pleasures, the passions and humours of mankind, the commentators have taken a licence from thence to draw not only moral observations, but also satirical reflections out of this part of the Poet. These I am forry to fee fall so hard upon womankind, and all by Juno's means. Sometimes she procures them a lesson for their curiofity and unquietness, and at other times for their loud and vexatious tempers. Juno deserves them on the one hand, Jupiter thunders them out on the other, and the learned gentlemen are very particular in enlarging with remarks on both sides. In her first speech they make the Poet describe the inquisitive temper of womankind in general, and their restlessness if they are not admitted into every secret. In his anfwer to this, they trace those methods of grave remonstrance by which it is proper for husbands to calm them. In her reply, they find it is the nature of women to be more obstinate for being yielded to: and in his second return to her, they fee the last method to be used with them upon failure of the first, which is the exercise of sovereign authority.

Mr. Dryden has translated all this with the utmost severity upon the Ladies, and spirited the whole with satirical additions of his own. But Madam Dacier (who has elsewhere animadverted upon the good Bishop of Thessalonica, for his sage admonitions against the fair sex) has not taken the least notice of this general desection from complaisance in all the commentators. She seems willing to give the whole passage a more important turn, and incline us to think that Homer de-

MENT OF

Thy Juno knows not the decrees of fate, 700 In vain the partner of imperial state.

What fav'rite Goddess then those cares divides, Which Jove in prudence from his consort hides?

To this the Thund'rer: seek not thou to find
The facred counsels of almighty mind: 705
Involved in darkness lies the great decree,
Nor can the depths of fate be pierc'd by thee.
What fits thy knowledge, thou the first shalt know;
The first of Gods above, and Men below;
But thou, nor they, shall search the thoughts that
roll

Deep in the close recesses of my soul.

Full on the fire the Goddess of the skies Roll'd the large orbs of her majestic eyes,

figned to represent the folly and danger of prying into the secrets of providence. 'Tis thrown into that air in this translation, not only as it is more noble and instructive in general, but as it is more respectful to the Ladies in particular; nor should we (any more than Madam Dacier) have mentioned what those old fellows have said, but to desire their protection against some modern criticks, their disciples, who may arraign this proceeding.

v. 713. Roll'd the large Orbs.] The Greek is Βοῶπις ωότιια "Ηρη, which is commonly translated the venerable ox-ey'd Juno. Madam Dacier very well observes that βε is only an augmentative.

BOOK 1. HOMER'S ILIAD.

And thus return'd. Austere Saturnius, say, From whence this wrath, or who controuls thy sway?

Thy boundless will, for me, remains in force,
And all thy counsels take the destin'd course.
But 'tis for Greece I fear: for late was seen
In close consult, the silver-sooted Queen.

Jove to his Thetis nothing could deny,
720
Nor was the signal vain that shook the sky.
What fatal favour has the Goddess won,
To grace her sierce, inexorable son?
Perhaps in Grecian blood to drench the plain,
And glut his vengeance with my people slain. 725

Then thus the God: Oh restless fate of pride, That strives to learn what heav'n resolves to hide; Vain is the search, presumptuous and abhor'd, Anxious to thee, and odious to thy Lord.

particle, and fignifies no more than valde. It may be added, that the imagination that oxen have larger eyes than ordinary is ill-grounded, and has no foundation in truth; their eyes are no larger in proportion than those of men, or of most other animals. But be it as it will, the design of the Poet, which is only to express the largeness of her eyes, is answered in the paraphrase.



Let this suffice; th' immutable decree 730

No force can shake: what is, that ought to be.

Goddess submit, nor dare our will withstand,

But dread the pow'r of this avenging hand;

Th' united strength of all the Gods above

In vain resists th' omnipotence of fove. 735

The Thund'rer spoke, nor durst the Queen reply;

A rev'rend horror silenc'd all the sky.

The feast disturb'd, with sorrow Vulcan saw
His mother menac'd, and the Gods in awe;

Peace at his heart, and pleasure his design, 740

Thus interpos'd the Architect divine.

J. 741. Thus interpos'd the Architect divine.] This quarrel of the Gods being come to its height, the Poet makes Vulcan interpose, who freely puts them in mind of pleasure, inosfensively advises Juno, illustrates his advice by an example of his own missortune, turning the jest on himself to enliven the banquet; and concludes the part he is to support with serving Nectar about. Homer had here his Minerva or Wisdom to interpose again, and every other quality of the mind resided in Heaven under the appearance of some Deity: so that his introducing Vulcan, proceeded not from a want of choice, but an insight into nature. He knew that a friend to mirth ofter diverts or stops quarrels, especially when he contrives to submit himself to the laugh, and prevails on the angry to pare in good humour, or in a disposition to friendship; when grave

RENT OF

69

BOOK I. HOMER'S ILIAD.

The wretched quarrels of the mortal state
Are far unworthy, Gods! of your debate:
Let men their days in senseless strife employ,
We, in eternal peace, and constant joy. 745
Thou Goddess-mother, with our sire comply,
Nor break the sacred union of the sky:
Lest, rouz'd to rage, he shake the blest abodes,
Launch the red lightning, and dethrone the
Gods.

If you submit, the Thund'rer stands appeas'd; 750 The gracious pow'r is willing to be pleas'd.

Thus Vulcan spoke; and rising with a bound,
The double bowl with sparkling Nectar crown'd,
Which held to Juno in a chearful way,
Goddess (he cried) be patient and obey. 755
Dear as you are, if Jove his arm extend,
I can but grieve, unable to defend.
What God so daring in your aid to move,
Or lift his hand against the force of Jove?

representations are sometimes reproaches, sometimes lengthen he debate by occasioning desences, and sometimes introduce new parties into the consequences of it.

ALL II O

Once in your cause I felt his matchless might, 760 Hurl'd headlong downward from th' etherial height;

Tost all the day in rapid circles round;
Nor till the Sun descended, touch'd the grownd:
Breathless I fell, in giddy motion lost;
The Sintbians rais'd me on the Lemnian coast. 765
He said, and to her hands the goblet heav'd,
Which, with a smile, the white-arm'd Queen receiv'd.

*. 760. Once in your cause I felt his matchless might.] "They who search another vein of allegory for hidden knowledge in natural Philosophy, have considered fupiter and funo as Heaven and the Air, whose alliance is interrupted when the air is troubled above, but restored again when it is cleared by heat, or Vulcan the God of Heat. Him they call a divine artificer, from the activity or general use of fire in working. They suppose him to be born in Heaven, where philosophers say that element has its proper place; and is thence derived to the earth, which is signified by the fall of Vulcan; that he fell in Lemnos, because that Island abounds with subterranean sires; and that he contracted a lameness or impersection by the fall, the fire not being so pure and active below, but mixed and terrestrial." Eustathius.

1. 767. Which, with a smile, the white-arm'd Queen re ceiv'd.] The epithet λευκώλεν, or white arm'd, is used by Homer several times before, in this book. This was the first passage where it could be introduced with any ease or grace,

Book 1. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Then to the rest he fill'd; and in his turn, Each to his lips apply'd the nectar'd urn.

Vulcan with aukward grace his office plies, 770 And unextinguish'd laughter shakes the skies.

Thus the bleft Gods the genial day prolong, In feasts ambrosial, and celestial song.

Apollo tun'd the lyre; the Muses round
With voice alternate aid the silver sound.

775
Meantime the radiant Sun, to mortal sight
Descending swift, roll'd down the rapid light.

because the action she is here described in, of extending her arm to the cup, gives it an occasion of displaying its beauties, and in a manner demands the epithet.

y. 771. Laughter shakes the skies.] Vulcan designed to move laughter by taking upon him the office of Hebe and Ganymede, with his aukward limping carriage. But though he prevailed, and Homer tells you the Gods did laugh, yet he takes care not to mention a word of his lameness. It would have been cruel in him, and wit out of season, to have enlarged with derifion upon an impersection which is out of one's power to remedy. According to this good natured opinion of Eustathius, Mr. Dryden has treated Vulcan a little barbarously. He makes his character persectly comical, he is the jest of the board, and the Gods are very merry upon the impersections of his sigure. Chapman led him into this error in general, as well as into some indecencies of expression in particular, which will be seen upon comparing them.

For what concerns the laughter attributed here to the Gods, see the Notes on lib. 5. \$. 517.

72 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 1.

Then to their starry domes the Gods depart,
The shining monuments of *Vulcan*'s art:

Jove on his couch reclin'd his awful head, 780
And June slumber'd on the golden bed.

*. 778. Then to their starry domes.] The Astrologers assign twelve houses to the Planets, wherein they are said to have dominion. Now because Homer tells us Vulcan built a man-fion for every God, the ancients write that he first gave occasion for this doctrine.

y. 780. Jove on his couch reclin'd his awful head.] Eustathius makes a distinction between xaleiden and inver; the words which are used at the end of this book, and the beginning of the next, with regard to fupiter's sleeping. He says xaleiden only means lying down in a disposition to sleep; which salves the contradiction that else would follow in the next book, where it is said fupiter did not sleep. I only mention this to vindicate the translation which differs from Mr. Dryden's.

It has been remarked by the scholiasts, that this is the only book of the twenty-sour without any simile, a figure in which Homer abounds every where else. The like remark is made by Madam Dacier upon the first of the Odyssey; and because the Poet has observed the same conduct in both works, it is concluded he thought a simplicity of style, without the great figures, was proper during the first information of the reader. This observation may be true, and admits of refined reasonings; but for my part I cannot think the book had been the worse, though he had thrown in as many similes as Virgil has in the first Eneid.



ACKOREGUES DE LES ESTA

THE

SECOND BOOK

OF THE

I L A D.





The ARGUMENT.

The trial of the army and catalogue of the forces.

Tupiter, in pursuance of the request of Thetis, solhds. J a deceitful vision to Agamemnon, persuading him to lead the army to battle; in order to make the Greek senfible of their want of Achilles. The General, who is deluded with the hopes of taking Troy without his affiftance, but fears the army was discouraged by his absence and the late plague, as well as by the length of time, contrives to make trial of their disposition by a stratagem. He first communicates bis design to the Princes in council, that he would propose a return to the soldiers, and that they should put a stop to them if the proposal was embraced. Then he assembles the whole host, and upon moving for a return to Greece, they unanimously agree to it, and run to prepare the ships. They are detained by the management of Ulysses, who chastises the insolence of Thersites. The Assembly is recalled, several speeches made on the occasion, and at length the advice of Nestor followed, which was to make a general muster of the troops, and to divide them into their several nations, before they proceeded to battle. This gives occasion to the Poet to enumerate all the forces of the Greeks and Trojans, and in a large catalogue.

The time employed in this book consists not entirely of one day. The scene lies in the Grecian camp and upon the sea-shore; toward the end it removes to Troy.





THE

SECONDBOK

OF THE

I L I A D.

Tow pleasing sleep had feal'd each mortal eye,

Stretch'd in the tents the *Grecian* Leaders lie, Th' immortals flumber'd on their thrones above; All, but the ever-wakeful eyes of *Jove*.

ty-sixth chapter of his art of poetry, that this place had been objected to by some criticks in those times. They thought it gave a very ill idea of the military discipline of the Greeks, to present a whole army unguarded, and all the leaders assept they also pretended it was ridiculous to describe all the Gods sleeping besides Jupiter. To both these Aristotle answers, that



To honour *Thetis'* fon he bends his care,

And plunge the *Greeks* in all the woes of war:

Then bids an empty phantom rife to fight,

And thus commands the *Vision* of the night.

Fly hence, deluding *Dream!* and light as air, To *Agamemnon*'s ample tent repair.

nothing is more usual or allowable than that figure which puts all for the greater part. One may add with respect to the latter Criticism, that nothing could give a better image of the superiority of fupiter to the other Gods (or of the supreme Being to all second causes) than the vigilancy here ascribed to him, over all things divine and human.

*. 9. Fly hence, deluding dream.] It appears from Aristotle, Poet. cap. 26. that Homer was accused of impiety, for making Jupiter the author of a lye in this passage. It seems there were anciently these words in his speech to the dream; Aidopus Si οἱ εὖχ@ ἀρίσθαι, Let us give him great glory. (Instead of which we have in the present copies, Teweron de xnde ipnilas.) Hippias found a way to bring off Homer, only by placing the accent on the last syllable but one, Διδόμεν, for Διδόμεναι, the infinitive for the imperative; which amounts to no more than he bade the dream to promise him great glory. But Macrobius de Somnio Scip. lib. i. cap. 7. takes off this imputation entirely, and will not allow there was any lye in the case. " Agamemnon (fays he) was ordered by the dream to lead out es all the forces of the Greeks, (Haroudin is the word) and pro-" mised the victory on that condition: now Achilles and his "forces not being summoned to the assembly with the rest, that neglect absolved Jupiter from his promise." This remark Madam Dacier has inserted without mentioning its author. Mr. Dacier takes notice of a passage in the scripture exactly parallel to this, where God is represented making use of the malignity of his creatures to accomplish his judgments,

BOOK II. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Bid him in arms draw forth th' embattel'd train,
Lead all his Grecians to the dusty plain.
Declare, cv'n now 'tis given him to destroy
The lofty tow'rs of wide-extended Troy.
For now no more the Gods with fate contend, 15
At Juno's suit the heav'nly factions end.
Destruction hangs o'er yon' devoted wall,
And nodding Ilion waits th' impending fall.
Swift as the word the vain Illusion fled,
Descends, and hovers o'er Atrides' head; 20

It is in 2 Chron. ch. xviii. \(\frac{1}{2} \). 19, 20, 21. And the Lord said, Who will persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth Gilead? And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his Prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: Go forth and do so. Vide Dacier upon Aristotle, cap. 26.

**J. 20. Descends, and hovers o'er Atrides' head.] The whole action of the dream is beautifully natural, and agreeable to philosophy. It perches on his head, to intimate that part to be the seat of the soul: it is circumfused about him, to express that total possession of the senses which fancy has during our sleep. It takes the sigure of the person who was dearest to Agamemnon; as whatever we think of most, when awake, is the common object of our dreams. And just at the instant of its vanishing, it leaves such an impression that the voice seems still to sound in his ear. No description can be more exact or lively. Eustathius, Dacier.

No. of the last of

Cloath'd in the figure of the *Pylian* Sage, Renown'd for wisdom, and rever'd for age; Around his temples spreads his golden wing, And thus the flatt'ring dream deceives the King.

Canst thou, with all a Monarch's cares opprest,
Oh Atreus' son! canst thou indulge thy rest? 26
Ill sits a Chief who mighty nations guides,
Directs in council, and in war presides,
To whom its safety a whole people owes,
To waste long nights in indolent repose. 30
Monarch awake! 'tis Jove's command I bear,
Thou, and thy glory, claim his heav'nly care.
In just array draw forth th' embattel'd train,
Lead all thy Grecians to the dusty plain;

the same of the second of the

BOOK II. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Ev'n now, O King! 'tis given thee to destroy 35 The lofty tow'rs of wide-extended Troy.

For now no more the Gods with fate contend,
At Juno's suit the heav'nly factions end.

Destruction hangs o'er yon' devoted wall,
And nodding Ilion waits th' impending fall. 40

Awake, but waking this advice approve,
And trust the vision that descends from Jove.

The Phantom said; then vanish'd from his sight, Resolves to air, and mixes with the night. 44 A thousand schemes the Monarch's mind employ; Elate in thought, he sacks untaken Troy:

immediately takes the words from her mouth and repeats them, of which we have an inflance in this book. Some objection too may be raifed in this manner, when commissions are given in the utmost haste (in a battle or the like) upon sudden emergencies, where it seems not very natural to suppose a man has time to get so many words by heart as he is made to repeat exactly. In the present instance, the repetition is certainly graceful, though Zenodotus thought it not so the third time, when Agamemnon tells his dream to the council. I do not pretend to decide upon the point: for though the reverence of the repetition seemed less needful in that place, than when it was delivered immediately from Jupiter; yet (as Eustathius observes) it was necessary for the assembly to know the circumstances of this dream, that the truth of the relation might be unsuspected.



Vain as he was, and to the future blind;
Nor saw what Jove and secret fate design'd,
What mighty toils to either host remain,
What scenes of grief, and numbers of the slain! 50
Eager he rises, and in fancy hears
The voice celestial murm'ring in his ears.
First on his limbs a slender vest he drew,
Around him next the regal mantle threw,
Th' embroider'd sandals on his feet were ty'd; 55
The starry faulchion glitter'd at his side;
And last his arm the massy sceptre loads,
Unstain'd, immortal, and the gift of Gods.

Now rose morn ascends the court of Jove,
Lists up her light, and opens day above. 60
The King dispatch'd his heralds with commands
To range the camp and summon all the bands:
The gath'ring hosts the Monarch's word obey;
While to the fleet Atrides bends his way.
In his black ship the Pylian Prince he found; 65
There calls a Senate of the Peers around:
Th' assembly plac'd, the King of men exprest
The counsels lab'ring in his artful breast.

BOOK II. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Friends and Confed'rates! with attentive ear Receive my words, and credit what you hear. 70 Late as I slumber'd in the shades of night, A dream divine appear'd before my fight; Whose visionary form like Nestor came, The same in habit, and in mien the same. The heav'nly Phantom hover'd o'er my head, 75 And, dost thou sleep, Oh Atreus' son? (he said) Ill fits a Chief who mighty nations guides, Directs in council, and in war presides, To whom its safety a whole people owes; To waste long nights in indolent repose. 80 Monarch awake! 'tis Jove's command I bear, Thou and thy glory claim his heav'nly care. In just array draw forth th' embattel'd train, And lead the Grecians to the dusty plain; Ev'n now, O King! 'tis given thee to destroy 85 The lofty tow'rs of wide-extended Troy. For now no more the Gods with fate contend, At Juno's suit the heav'nly factions end. Destruction hangs o'er yon' devoted wall, And nodding Ilion waits th' impending fall.



This hear observant, and the Gods obey! The vision spoke, and past in air away. Now, valiant chiofs! since heav'n itself alarms; Unite, and rouze the fons of Greece to arms.

y. 93. Now, valiant chiefs, &c.] The best commentary extant upon the first part of this book is in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who has given us an admirable explication of this whole conduct of Agamemnon in his second treatise Tigi ioxnμαλισμένων. He says, " This Prince had nothing so much at "heart as to draw the Greeks to a battle, yet knew not how " to proceed without Achilles, who had just retired from the " army; and was apprehensive that the Greeks who were dif-" pleased at the departure of Achilles, might refuse obedience "to his orders, should he absolutely command it. In this "circumstance he proposes to the Princes in council to make " a trial of arming the Grecians, and offers an expedient him-" felf; which was, that he should found their dispositions " by exhorting them to set sail for Greece, but that then the other Princes should be ready to dissuade and detain them. "If any object to this stratagem, that Agamemnon's whole " scheme would be ruined if the army should take him at his "word (which was very probable) it is to be answered, that " his design lay deeper than they imagine, nor did he de-" pend upon his speech only for detaining them. He had " some cause to fear the Greeks had a pique against him which "they had concealed, and whatever it was, he judged it ab-"folutely necessary to know it before he proceeded to a bat-"tle. He therefore furnishes them with an occasion to ma-" nifest it, and at the same time provides against any ill ef-" fects it might have, by his secret orders to the Princes. It "fucceeds accordingly, and when the troops are running to embark, they are stopped by Ulysses and Nestor." -One may farther observe that this whole stratagem is concerted in N_{c_n} tor's ship, as one whose wisdom and secresy was most confided

Book II. HOMER'S ILIAD.

But first, with caution, try what yet they dare,

Worn with nine years of unfoccessful war? To move the troops to measure back the main, Be mine; and yours the province to detain.

He spoke, and sat; when Nestor rising said, (Nestor, whom Pylos' sandy realms obey'd) 100 Princes of Greece, your faithful ears incline, Nor doubt the vision of the pow'rs divine; Sent by great Jove to him who rules the host, Forbid it heav'n! this warning should be lost! Then let us haste, obey the God's alarms, 105 And join to rouze the sons of Greece to arms.

Thus spoke the sage: the Kings without delay Dissolve the council, and their chief obey:
The sceptred rulers lead; the following host 109
Pour'd forth by thousands, darkens all the coast.

in. The story of the vision's appearing in his shape, could not but engage him in some degree: it looked as if Jupiter himself added weight to his counsels by making use of that venerable appearance, and knew this to be the most powerful method of recommending them to Agamemnon. It was therefere but natural for Nester to second the motion of the King, and by the help of his authority it prevailed on the other Princes.

84 HOMER'S ILIAD. Book II.

As from some rocky cleft the shepherd sees 111 Clust'ring in heaps on heaps the driving bees,

*. III. As from some rocky cleft.] This is the first simile in Homer, and we may observe in general that he excels all mankind in the number, variety, and beauty of his comparisons. There are scarce any in Virgil which are not translated from him, and therefore when he succeeds best in them, he is to be commended but as an improver. Scaliger seems not to have thought of this, when he compares the similes of these two authors (as indeed they are the places most obvious to comparison). The present passage is an instance of it, to which he opposes the following verses in the first Eneid, *.

- « Qualis apes æstate novâ per slorea rura
- Exercet sub sole labor, cum gentis adultos
- Educunt fœtus, aut cum liquentia mella
- "Stipant, & dulci distendunt nectare cellas;
- "Aut onera accipiunt venientûm, aut agmine facto
- "Ignavum fucos pecus à præsepibus arcent.
- " Fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella."

This he very much prefers to *Homer's*, and in particular extols the harmony and fweetness of the versification above that of our Author; against which censure we need only appeal to the ears of the reader.

"Ηϋτε έθνεα εἶσι μελισσάων ἀδινάων,
Πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυςῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἐςχομενάων,
Βοίςυδον δὰ σείτονίαι ἐπ' ἄνθεσιν εἰαςινοῖσιν.
Αὶ μὰν τ' ἔνθα ἄλις σεποτήαλαι, αὶ δέ τε ἔνθα, Ε΄.

But Scaliger was unlucky in his choice of this particular comparison: there is a very fine one in the fixth *Eneid*, ½. 707. that better agrees with *Homer*'s: and nothing is more evident than that the design of these two is very different: *Homer* intended to describe the *multitude* of *Greeks* pouring out of the ships, Virgil the diligence and labour of the builders at Car-

Book II. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Rolling, and black'ning, swarms succeeding swarms,

With deeper murmurs and more hoarse alarms; Dusky they spread, a close embody'd croud, 115 And o'er the vale descends the living cloud.

So, from the tents and ships, a length'ning train Spreads all the beach, and wide o'ershades the plain:

Along the region runs a deaf'ning found;
Beneath their footsteps groans the trembling ground.

Fame flies before, the messenger of Jove, And shining soars, and claps her wings above.

thage. And Macrobius, who observes this difference, Sat. lib. v. c. 11. should also have found, that therefore the similes ought not to be compared together. The beauty of Homer's is not inferior to Virgil's, if we consider with what exactness it answers to its end. It consists of three particulars; the vast number of the troops is expressed in the swarms, their tumultuous manner of issuing out of the ships, and the perpetual egsession which seemed without end, are imaged in the bees pouring out of the rock, and lastly, their dispersion over all the shore, in their descending on the slowers in the vales. Spondanus was therefore mistaken when he thought the whole application of this comparison lay in the single word inaccor, atervatim, as Chapman has justly observed.

#. 121. Fame flies before.] This assembling of the army is fall of beauties: the lively description of their overspreading



Nine sacred heralds now, proclaiming loud The monarch's will, suspend the list'ning croud. Soon as the throngs in order rang'd appear, 125 And fainter murmurs dy'd upon the ear, The King of Kings his awful figure rais'd; High in his hand the golden sceptre blaz'd: The golden sceptre, of celestial frame, By Vulcan form'd, from Jove to Hermes came: 130 To Pelops he th' immortal gift resign'd; Th' immortal gift great Pelops left behind, In Atreus' hand, which not with Atreus ends, To rich Thyestes next the prize descends; And now the mark of Agamemnon's reign, Subjects all Argos, and controuls the main.

the field, the noble boldness of the figure when Fame is represented in person shining at their head: the universal tumult succeeded by a solemn silence; and lastly the graceful rising of Agamemnon, all contribute to cast a majesty on this part. In the passage of the sceptre, Homer has sound an artful and poetical manner of acquainting us with the high desent of Agamemnon, and celebrating the hereditary right of his family; as well as finely hinted the original of his power to be derived from heaven, in saying the sceptre was first the gift or supiter. It is with reference to this, that in the line where he first mentions it, he calls it "Apsilor aid, and accordingly it is translated in that place.



On this bright sceptre now the King reclin'd, And artful thus pronounc'd the speech design'd,

y. 138. And artful thus pronounc'd the speech designed.] The remarks of Dionysius upon this speech I shall give the reader all together, though they lie scattered in his two discourses $\Pi_{egl} \approx \chi \eta \mu \omega \log \mu$, the second of which is in a great degree but a repetition of the precepts and examples of the first. This happened, I believe, from his having composed them at distinct times and upon different occasions.

"It is an exquisite piece of art, when you seem to aim at " persuading one thing, and at the same time inforce the " contrary. This kind of Rhetorick is of great use in all " occasions of danger, and of this Homer has afforded a most " powerful example in the oration of Agamemnon. It is a "method perfectly wonderful, and even carries in it an apes pearance of absurdity; for all that we generally esteem the " faults of oratory, by this means become the virtues of it. "Nothing is looked upon as a greater error in a Rhetorician "than to alledge such arguments as either are easily answered or may be retorted upon himself; the former is a weak co part, the latter a dangerous one; and Agamemnon here de-" fignedly deals in both. For it is plain that if a man must " not use weak arguments, or such as may make against "him, when he intends to persuade the thing he says; then on the other side, when he does not intend it, he must ob-" ferve the contrary proceeding, and make what are the faults of oratory in general, the excellencies of that oration in or otherwise he will contradict his own inten-"tion, and perfuade the contrary to what he means. Aga-" memnon begins with an argument eafily answered, by tell-" ing them that Jupiter had promised to crown their arms with ce victory. For if Jupiter had promised this, it was a reason " for the stay in the camp. But now (says he) Fove has dece ceived us, and we must return with ignominy. This is another of the same kind, for it shews what a disgrace it is to return. What follows is of the second fort, and may be



Ye sons of Mars! partake your leader's care, Heroes of Greece, and brothers of the war! 140

turned against him. Jove will have it so: for which they "have only Agamemnon's word, but Jove's own promise to 66 the contrary. That God has overthrown many cities, and will yet overturn many others. This was a strong reason so to stay, and put their confidence in him. It is shameful to bave it told to all posterity, that so many thousand Greeks, after a war of so long continuance, at last returned home baffled and unsuccessful. All this might have been said by a profest so adversary to the cause he pleads, and indeed is the same 66 thing Ulysses says elsewhere in reproach of their flight. The " conclusion evidently shews the intent of the speaker. Haste " then; let us fly; φευγωμεν, the word which of all others was "most likely to prevail upon them to stay; the most open " term of difgrace he could possibly have used: it is the same which June makes use of to Minerva, Minerva to Ulysses, " and Ulysses again to the troops, to dissuade their return; "the same which Agamemnon himself had used to insult Achilles, and which Homer never employs but with the mark of cowardice and infamy."

The same author farther observes, "That this whole oration has the air of being spoken in a passion. It begins
with a stroke of the greatest rashness and impatience. Jupiter has been unjust, Heaven has deceived us. This renders
all he shall say of the less authority, at the same time that
it conceals his own artifice; for his anger seems to account
for the incongruities he utters." I could not suppress so
fine a remark, though it falls out of the order of those which
precede it.

Before I leave this article, I must take notice that this speech of Agamemnon is again put into his mouth in the ninth Iliad, and (according to Dionysius) for the same purpose, to detain the army at the siege after a defeat; though it seems unartful to put the same trick twice upon the Greeks by the

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Or partial Yove with justice I complain, Anu heav'nly oracles believ'd in vain. A safe return was promis'd to our toils, Renown'd, triumphant, and enrich'd with spoils. Now shameful flight alone can fave the host, 145 Our blood, our treasure, and our glory lost. So Jove decrees, resistless Lord of all! At whose command whole empires rise or fall: He shakes the feeble props of human trust, And towns and armies humbles to the dust. 150 What shame to Greece a fruitless war to wage, Oh lasting shame in ev'ry future age! Once great in arms, the common fcorn we grow, Repuls'd and baffled by a feeble foe. So small their number, that if wars were ceas'd, 155 And Greece triumphant held a gen'ral feast,

fame person, and in the same words too. We may indeed suppose the first seint to have remained undiscovered, but at best it is a management in the Poet not very entertaining to the readers.

In comparison with the rest of the speech. Scaliger calls it taber variam orationem: but it is well observed by Madam Dacier, that the image Agamemnon here gives of the Trojans, does not only render their numbers contemptible in comparison of the

All rank'd by tens; whole decads when they dine Must want a Trojan slave to pour the wine.

But other forces have our hopes o erthrown,

And Troy prevails by armies not her own. 160

Now nine long years of mighty Jove are run,

Since first the labours of this war begun:

Our cordage torn, decay'd our vessels lic,

And scarce ensure the wretched pow'r to sly.

Greeks, but their persons too: for it makes them appear but as a sew vile slaves sit only to serve them with wine. To which we may add, that it affords a prospect to his soldiers of their suture state and triumph after the conquest of their enemies.

This passage gives me occasion to animadvert upon a computation of the number of the Trojans, which the learned Angelus Politian has offered at in his Preface to Homer. He thinks they were fifty thousand without the auxiliaries, from the conclusion of the eighth Iliad, where it is said there were a thousand funeral piles of Trojans and fifty men attending each of them. But that the auxiliaries are to be admitted into that number, appears plainly from this place: Agamemnon expressly distinguishes the native Trojans from the aids, and reckons but one to ten Grecians, at which estimate there could not be above ten thousand Trojans. See the notes on the catalogue.

1. 163. — Decay'd our vessels lie,

And scarce ensure the wretched pow'r to fly.]

This, and some other passages, are here translated correspondent to the general air and sense of this speech, rather th just to the letter. The telling them in this place how m their shipping was decayed, was a hint of their danger in returning, as Madam Dacier has remarked.

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Haste then, for ever leave the *Trojan* wall! 165 Our weeping wives, our tender children call: Love, duty, safety, summon us away, 'Tis nature's voice, and nature we obey. Our shatter'd barks may yet transport us o'er, Safe and inglorious, to our native shore. 170 Fly, *Grecians*, sly, your sails and oars employ, And dream no more of heav'n-defended *Troy*.

His deep defign unknown, the hofts approve

Atrides' speech. The mighty numbers move.

So roll the billows to th' Icarian shore, 175

From East and South when winds begin to roar,

Burst their dark mansions in the clouds, and sweep

The whitening furface of the ruffled deep.

And as on corn when western gusts descend,

Before the blast the lofty harvests bend: 180

y. 175. So roll the billows, &c.] One may take notice that Homer in these two similitudes has judiciously made choice of the two most wavering and inconstant things in nature, to compare with the multitude; the waves and ears of corn. The st alludes to the noise and tumult of the people, in the king and rolling of the billows; the second to their taking he same course, like corn bending one way; and both to the ainess with which they are moved by every breath.

92 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 11.

Thus o'er the field the moving host appears
With nodding plumes and groves of waving speals.
The gath'ring murmur spreads, their trampling feet
Beat the loose fands, and thicken to the fleet.
With long-resounding cries they urge the train 185
To fit the ships, and launch into the main
They toil, they sweat, thick clouds of dust arise,
The doubling clamours echo to the skies,
Ev'n then the Greeks had left the hostile plain,
And sate decreed the fall of Troy in vain; 190
But Jove's imperial Queen their slight survey'd,
And sighing thus bespoke the blue-eyed maid.

Shall then the Grecians fly! Oh dire difgrace! And leave unpunish'd this perfidious race? Shall Troy, shall Priam, and th' adultr'ous spouse, In peace enjoy the fruits of broken vows? 196 And bravest chiefs, in Helen's quarrel slain, Lie unreveng'd on yon' detested plain? No: let my Greeks, unmov'd by vain alarms, Once more refulgent shine in brazen arms. 200 Haste, Goddess, haste! the slying host detain Nor let one sail be hoisted on the main.

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Pallas obeys, and from Olympus' height Swirt to the ships precipitates her flight; Ulysses, first in publick cares, she found, 205 For prudent counsel like the Gods renown'd: Oppress'd with gen'rous grief the Hero stood, Nor drew his fable vessels to the flood. And is it thus, divine Laërtes' son! Thus fly the Greeks (the martial maid begun) 210 Thus to their country bear their own difgrace, And fame eternal leave to Priam's race? Shall beauteous Helen still remain unfreed, Still unreveng'd, a thousand heroes bleed? Haste gen'rous Ithacus! prevent the shame, 215 Recall your armies, and your chiefs reclaim. Your own resistless eloquence employ, And to th' Immortals trust the fall of Troy.

The voice divine confess'd the warlike maid,

Ulysses heard, nor uninspir'd obey'd 220

Then meeting first Atrides, from his hand
Receiv'd th' imperial sceptre of command.

Taus grac'd, attention and respect to gain,
He runs, he slies thro all the Grecian train,

94 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 11.

Each Prince of name, or chief in arms approv'd,

He fir'd with praise, or with persuasion mov'd.
Warriours like you, with strength and wisdom blest,

By brave examples should confirm the rest.

The monarch's will not yet reveal'd appears;

He tries our courage, but resents our sears. 230

Th' unwary Greeks his fury may provoke;

Not thus the King in secret council spoke.

Jove loves our chief, from Jove his honour springs,

Beware! for dreadful is the wrath of Kings.

But if a clam'rous vile Plebeian rose, 235
Him with reproof he check'd, or tam'd with blows.

Be still, thou slave, and to thy betters yield;
Unknown alike in council and in field!
Ye Gods, what dastards would our host command?

Swept to the war, the lumber of a land. 240 Be silent, wretch, and think not here allow'd That worst of tyrants, an usurping croud.

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To one sole Monarch Jove commits the sway; His are the laws, and him let all obey.

With words like these the troops Ulysses rul'd, The loudest silenc'd, and the siercest cool'd. 246 Back to th' assembly roll the thronging train, Desert the ships, and pour upon the plain.

Murm'ring they move, as when old Ocean roars, And heaves huge surges to the trembling shores:

y. 243. To one sole Monarch.] Those persons are under a mistake who would make this sentence a praise of absolute monarchy. Homer speaks it only with regard to a general of an army during the time of his commission. Nor is Agamemnon styled King of Kings in any other sense, than as the rest of the Princes had given him the supreme authority over them in the siege. Aristotle defines a King, Expalnyos yae in on duasis βασιλεύς, η των σιρός Θεες Κύρι : Leader of the war, Judge of controversies, and President of the ceremonies of the Gods. That he had the principal care of religious rites, appears from many places in Homer; and that his power was no where absolute but in war: for we find Agamemnon infulted in the council, but in the army threatning deserters with death. He was under an obligation to preserve the privileges of his country, pursuant to which Kings are called by our author Δικασπόλες, and Ospusomónes, the dispensers or managers of Justice. And Dionysius of Halicarnassus acquaints us, that the old Grecian Kings, whether hereditary or elective, had a council of their chief men, as Homer and the most ancient Poets testify; nor was it (he adds) in those times as in ours, when Kings have a full liberty to do whatever they please. Dion. Hal. lib. ii. V:A

The groaning banks are burst with bellowing found,

The rocks remurmur, and the deeps rebound.

At length the tumult finks, the noises cease,

And a still silence lulls the camp to peace.

Thersites only clamour'd in the throng,

255

Loquacious, loud, and turbulent of tongue:

*. 255. Thersites only.] The ancients have ascribed to Homer the first sketch of Satyric or Comic poetry, of which sort was his poem called Margites, as Aristotle reports. Though that piece be lost, this character of Thersites may give us a taste of his vein in that kind. But whether ludicrous descriptions ought to have place in the Epic poem, has been justly questioned: neither Virgil nor any of the most approved Ancients have thought fit to admit them into their compositions of that nature; nor any of the best moderns except Milton, whose fondness for Homer might be the reason of it. However this is in its kind a very masterly part, and our Author has shewn great judgment in the particulars he has chosen to compose the picture of a pernicious creature of wit; the chief of which are a desire of promoting laughter at any rate, and a contempt of his superiours. And he sums up the whole very strongly, by faying that Thersites hated Achilles and Ulysses; in which, as Plutarch has remarked in his treatise of envy and hatred, he makes it the utmost completion of an ill character to bear a malevolence to the best men. What is farther observable is, that Thersites is never heard of after this his first appearance: such a scandalous character is to be taken no more notice of, than just to shew that it is despised. Homer has observed the same conduct with regard to the most deformed and most beautiful person of his poem: for Nireus is thus mentioned once and no more throughout the Iliad. He places a



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Aw'd by no shame, by no respect controul'd,
In scandal busy, in reproaches bold:
With witty malice studious to defame;
Scorn all his joy, and laughter all his aim. 260
But chief he glory'd with licentious style
To lash the great, and monarchs to revile.
His figure such as might his soul proclaim;
One eye was blinking, and one leg was lame:
His mountain-shoulders half his breast o'erspread,

Thin hairs bestrew'd his long mis-shapen head. Spleen to mankind his envious heart possess, And much he hated all, but most the best. Ulysses or Achilles still his theme;
But Royal scandal his delight supreme. 270 Long had he liv'd the scorn of ev'ry Greek,
Vext when he spoke, yet still they heard him speak. Sharp was his voice; which in the shrillest tone,
Thus with injurious taunts attack'd the throne.

worthless beauty and an ill-natured wit upon the same foot, and shews that the gifts of the body without those of the mind are not more despicable, than those of the mind itself without virtue.



Amidst the glories of so bright a reign, 275
What moves the great Atrides to complain?
Tis thine whate'er the warriour's breast inflames,
The golden spoil, and thine the lovely dames.
With all the wealth our wars and blood bestow,
Thy tents are crouded, and thy chests o'erslow. 280
Thus at full ease in heaps of riches roll'd,
What grieves the Monarch? Is it thirst of gold?
Say, shall we march with our unconquer'd pow'rs,
(The Greeks and I) to Ilion's hostile tow'rs,

y. 275. Amidst the glories.] It is remarked by Dionysius Halicarnassus, in his treatise of the Examination of Writers, that there could not be a better artifice thought on to recall the army to their obedience, than this of our Author. When they were offended at their General in favour of Achilles, nothing could more weaken Achilles's interest than to make such a fellow as Thersites appear of his party, whose impertinence would give them a disgust of thinking or acting like him. There is no furer method to reduce generous spirits, than to make them see they are pursuing the same views with people of no merit, and such whom they cannot forbear despising themselves. Otherwise there is nothing in this speech but what might become the mouth of Nestor himself, if you except a word or two. And had Nestor spoken it, the army had certainly set sail for Greece; but because it was uttered by a ridiculous fellow whom they are ashamed to follow, they are reduced, and satisfied to continue the siege.

* 284. The Greeks and I.] These boasts of himself are the few words which Dionysius objects to in the foregoing pas-

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And bring the race of royal bastards here, 285 For Troy to ransom at a price too dear? But safer plunder thy own host supplies; Say, would'it thou seize some valiant leader's prize? Or, if thy heart to gen'rous love be led, Some captive fair, to bless thy Kingly bed? 290 Whate'er our master craves, submit we must, Plagu'd with his pride, or punish'd for his lust. Oh women of Achaia! men no more! Hence let us fly, and let him waste his store In loves and pleasures on the Phrygian shore. 295 We may be wanted on some busy day, When Hector comes: so great Achilles may: From him he forc'd the prize we jointly gave, From him, the fierce, the fearless, and the brave: And durst he, as he ought, resent that wrong, 300 This mighty tyrant were no tyrant long.

fage. I cannot but think the grave Commentators here very much mistaken, who imagine Thersites in earnest in these vaunts, and seriously reprove his insolence. They seem to me manifest strokes of Irony, which had rendered them so much the more improper in the mouth of Nestor, who was otherwise none of the least boasters himself. And considered as such, they are equal to the rest of the speech, which has an infinite deal of spirit, humour, and satyr.

MENT

310

Fierce from his seat at this *Ulysses* springs, In gen'rous vengeance of the King of Kings. With indignation sparkling in his eyes, He views the wretch, and sternly thus replies. 305

Peace, factious monster, born to vex the state, With wrangling talents form'd for foul debate: Curb that impetuous tongue, nor rashly vain And singly mad, asperse the sov'reign reign. Have we not known thee, slave! of all our

The man who acts the least, upbraids the most? Think not the *Greeks* to shameful flight to bring,

host,

Nor let those lips profane the name of King.

For our return we trust the heav'nly pow'rs;

Be that their care; to fight like men be ours. 315

But grant the host with wealth the gen'ral load,

Except detraction, what hast thou bestow'd?

Suppose some Hero should his spoils resign,

Art thou that Hero, could those spoils be thine?

Gods! let me perish on this hateful shore, 320

And let these eyes behold my son no more;



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If, on thy next offence, this hand forbear
To strip those arms thou ill deserv'st to wear,
Expel the council where our Princes meet,
And send thee scourg'd, and howling thro' the
fleet.

He faid, and cow'ring as the dastard bends, The weighty sceptre on his back descends:
On the round bunch the bloody tumours rise;
The tears spring starting from his haggard eyes:
Trembling he fat, and shrunk in abject sears, 330
From his vile visage wip'd the scalding tears.
While to his neighbour each express'd his thought:
Ye Gods! what wonders has Ulysses wrought?
What fruits his conduct and his courage yield?
Great in the council, glorious in the field. 335
Gen'rous he rises in the crown's defence,
To curb the factious tongue of insolence.

^{*. 326.} He said, and cow'ring.] The vile figure Thersites makes here is a good piece of grotesque; the pleasure expressed by the soldiers at this action of Ulysses (notwithstanding they are disappointed by him of their hopes of returning) is agreeable to that generous temper, at once honest and thoughtless, which is commonly found in military men; to whom nothing is so odious as a dastard, and who have not naturally the greatest kindness for a wit.

AEHT OF

Such just examples on offenders shown, Sedition silence, and affert the throne.

'Twas thus the general voice the Hero prais'd, Who rifing, high th' imperial sceptre rais'd: 341 The blue-ey'd Pallas, his celestial friend, (In form a herald) bade the crouds attend. Th' expecting crouds in still attention hung, To hear the wisdom of his heav'nly tongue. 345 Then deeply thoughtful, pausing e'er he spoke, His silence thus the prudent Hero broke.

Unhappy monarch! whom the Grecian race With shame deserting, heap with vile disgrace.

*. 348. Unhappy monarch! &c.] Quintilian, speaking of the various kinds of oratory which may be learned from Homer, mentions among the greatest instances the speeches in this book. "Nonne vel unus liber quo missa ad Achillem lega-"tio continetur, vel in primo inter duces illa contentio, vel " dictæ in secundo sententiæ, omnes litium ac consiliorum explicat artes? Affectus quidem vel illos mites, vel hos concitatos, nemo erit tam indoctus, qui non suâ in potes-" tate hunc autorem habuisse fateatur." It is indeed hardly possible to find any where more refined turns of policy, or more artful touches of oratory. We have no sooner seen Agamemnon excel in one fort, but Ulysses is to shine no less in another directly opposite to it. When the stratagem of pretending to set sail, had met with too ready a consent from the people, his eloquence appears in all the forms of art. In his first speech he had persuaded the captains with mildness, tell-



Book II. HOMER's ILIAD. 103
Not fuch at Argos was their gen'rous vow, 350
Once all their voice, but ah! forgotten now:
Ne'er to return, was then the common cry,
'Till Troy's proud structures should in ashes lie.

giving a turn to the first design, which had like to have been so dangerous, by representing it only as a project of Agamemnon to discover the cowardly. In his second, he had commanded the soldiers with bravery, and made them know what part they sustained in the war. In his third, he had rebuked the seditious in the person of Thersites, by reproofs, threats, and actual chastisement. And now in this sourth, when all are gathered together, he applies to them in topics which equally affect them all: he raises their hearts by putting them in mind of the promises of heaven, and those prophesies, of which, as they had seen the truth in nine years delay, they might expect the accomplishment in the tenth year's success: which is a full answer to what Agamemnon had said of Jupiter's deceiving them.

Dionysius observes one singular piece of art, in Ulyss's manner of applying himself to the people when he would infinuate any thing to the Princes, and addressing to the Princes when he would blame the people. He tells the soldiers, they must not all pretend to be rulers there, let there be one King, one Lord; which is manifestly a precept designed for the leaders to take to themselves. In the same manner Tiberius Rhetor remarks the beginning of his last oration to be a fine Ethopopeia or oblique reprehension of the people, upon whom the severity of the reproach is made to fall, while he seems to render the King an object of their pity.

Unhappy Monarch! whom the Grecian race With shame deserting, &c.



HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 11.

Behold them weeping for their native shore!

Behold them weeping for their native shore!

What could their wives or helpless children more?

What heart but melts to leave the tender train, And, one short month, endure the wintry main? Few leagues remov'd, we wish our peaceful seat, When the ship tosses, and the tempests beat: Then well may this long stay provoke their tears, The tedious length of nine revolving years. 361 Not for their grief the Grecian host I blame; But vanquish'd! baffled! oh eternal shame! Expect the time to Troy's destruction giv'n, And try the faith of Chalcas and of heav'n. 365 What past at Aulis, Greece can witness bear, And all who live to breathe this Phrygian air. Beside a fountain's sacred brink we rais'd Our verdant altars, and the victims blaz'd; ('Twas where the plane-tree spread its shades around) 370

The altars heav'd; and from the crumbling ground A mighty dragon shot, of dire portent; From Jove himself the dreadful sign was sent.

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Book II. HOMER's ILIAD.

Strait to the tree his fanguine spires he roll'd,
And curl'd around in many a winding fold. 375
The topmost branch a mother-bird possess;
Eight callow infants fill'd the mossy nest;
Herself the ninth; the serpent as he hung,
Stretch'd his black jaws, and crash'd the crying young;

While hov'ring near, with miferable moan, 380 The drooping mother wail'd her children gone. The mother last, as round the nest she flew, Seiz'd by the beating wing, the monster slew:

Nor long surviv'd; to marble turn'd he stands

A lasting prodigy on Aulis' sands.

Such was the will of Jove; and hence we dare

Trust in his omen, and support the war.

For while around we gaze with wond'ring eyes,

And trembling fought the pow'rs with facrifice, Full of his God, the rev'rend Chalcas cry'd, 390 Ye Grecian warriours! lay your fears afide. This wond'rous fignal Jove himself displays, Of long, long labours, but eternal praise.

AENT OF

As many birds as by the fnake were flain,
So many years the toils of Greece remain 395
But wait the tenth, for Ilion's fall decreed:
Thus fpoke the Prophet, thus the fates fucceed.
Obey, ye Grecians! with submission wait,
Nor let your flight avert the Trojan fate. 399
He said: the shores with loud applauses sound,
The hollow ships each deaf'ning shout rebound.
Then Nestor thus — These vain debates forbear,

Ye talk like children, not like heroes dare.

*. 402. Then Nestor thus.] Nothing is more observable than Homer's conduct of this whole incident; by what judicious and well-imagined degrees the army is restrained, and wrought up to the desires of the General. We have given the detail of all the methods Ulysses proceeded in: the activity of his character is now to be contrasted with the gravity of Nestor's, who covers and strengthens the other's arguments, and constantly appears through the poem a weighty Closer of debates. The Greeks had already seen their General give way to his authority, in the dispute with Achilles in the former book, and could expect no less than that their stay should be concluded on by Agamemnon as foon as Nestor undertook that cause. For this was all they imagined his discourse aimed at; but we shall find it had a farther design, from Dionysius of Halicarnassus. "There are two things (says that excellent critick) worthy of admiration in the speeches of Ulysses and Wester, which are the different designs they speak with, and " the different applauses they receive. Ulysses had the accla-" mations of the army, and Nestor the praise of Agamemnon. "One may enquire the reason, why he extols the latter pre-

107

BOOK II. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Where now are all your high resolves at last? 404 Your leagues concluded, your engagements past?

" ferably to the former, when all that Nestor alledges seems only a repetition of the same arguments which Ulysses had " given before him: it might be done in encouragement to "the old man, in whom it might raise a concern to find his " speech not followed with so general an applause as the other's. But we are to refer the speech of Nestor to that " part of oratory which feems only to confirm what another "has faid, and yet superinduces and carries a farther point. " Ulysses and Nester both compare the Greeks to children for "their unmanly defire to return home; they both reproach "them with the engagements and vows they had past, and "were now about to break; they both alledge the prosperous " figns and omens received from heaven. Notwithstanding "this, the end of their orations is very different. Ulysses's " business was to detain the Grecians when they were upon " the point of flying; Nestor finding that work done to his " hands, defigned to draw them instantly to battle. This "was the utmost Agamemnon had aimed at, which Nestor's " artifice brings to pass; for while they imagine by all he " fays that he is only perfuading them to stay, they find them-" felves unawares put into order of battle, and led under their "Princes to fight." Dion. Hal. έερὶ ἐσχημαλισμένων, Part I and 2.

We may next take notice of some particulars of this speech: where he says they lose their time in empty words, he hints at the dispute between Agamemnon and Achilles: where he speaks of those who deserted the Grecian cause, he glances at Achilles in particular. When he represents Helen in affliction and tears, he removes the odium from the person in whose cause they were to fight; and when he moves Agamemnon to advise with his council, artfully prepares for a reception of his own advice by that modest way of proposing it. As for the advice itself, to divide the army into bodies, each of which should be composed entirely of men of the same country; nothing



108 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 11.

Vow'd with libations and with victims then,
Now vanish'd like their smoke: the faith of men!
While useless words consume th' unactive hours,
No wonder Troy so long resists our pow'rs.
Rise, great Atrides! and with courage sway; 410
We march to war if thou direct the way.
But leave the sew that dare resist thy laws,
The mean deserters of the Grecian cause,
To grudge the conquests mighty Jove prepares,
And view, with envy, our successful wars. 415
On that great day when first the martial train,
Big with the sate of Ilion, plow'd the main;

could be better judged both in regard to the present circumstance, and with an eye to the future carrying on of the war. For the first, its immediate effect was to take the whole army out of its tumult, break whatever cabals they might have formed together by separating them into a new division, and cause every single mutineer to come instantly under the view of his own proper officer for correction. For the second, it was to be thought the army would be much strengthened by this union: those of different nations who had different aims, interests and friendships, could not affist each other with so much zeal, or so well concur to the same end, as when friends aided friends, kinsmen their kinsmen, &c. when each commander had the glory of his own nation in view, and a greater emulation was excited between body and body; as not only warring for the honour of Greece in general, but for that of every distinct State in particular.

Book II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 109

Fove, on the right, a prosp'rous signal sent, And thunder rolling shook the firmament. 419 Encourag'd hence, maintain the giorious strife, 'Till ev'ry soldier grasp a Phrygian wife, 'Till Helen's woes at full reveng'd appear, And Troy's proud matrons render tear for tear. Before that day, if any Greek invite His country's troops to base, inglorious flight; 425 Stand forth that Greek! and hoist his sail to fly, And die the dastard first, who dreads to die. But now, O Monarch! all thy Chiefs advise: Nor what they offer, thou thyself despise. Among those counsels, let not mine be vain; 430 In tribes and nations to divide thy train: His sep'rate troops let ev'ry leader call, Each strengthen each, and all encourage all. What chief, or foldier, of the num'rous band, Or bravely fights, or ill obeys command, When thus distinct they war, shall soon be known, And what the cause of Ilion not o'erthrown; If fate resists, or if our arms are slow, If Gods above prevent, or men below.



HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK II.

To him the King: How much thy years excel 440

In arts of council, and in speaking well!

O would the Gods, in love to *Greece*, decree

But ten such sages as they grant in thee;

*. 440. How much thy years excel.] Every one has observed how glorious an elogium of wisdom Homer has here given, where Agamemnon so far prefers it to valour, as to wish not for ten Ajax's, or Achilles's, but only for ten Nestor's. For the rest of this speech, Dionysius has summed it up as follows. " Agamemnon being now convinced the Greeks were offended at him, on account of the departure of Achilles, e pacifies them by a generous confession of his fault; but then 46 afferts the character of a supreme Ruler, and with the air of command threatens the disobedient." I cannot conclude this part of the speeches without remarking how beautifully they rife above one another, and how they more and more awaken the spirit of war in the Grecians. In this last there is a wonderful fire and vivacity, when he prepares them for the glorious toils they were to undergo by a warm and lively description of them. The repetition of the words in that part has a beauty, which (as well as many others of the same kind) has been loft by most translators.

I cannot but believe Milton had this passage in his eye in that of his fixth book.

His adamantine coat gird well; and each Fit well his helm, gripe fast his orbed shield, &c.

Book II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 111

Such wisdom soon should Priam's force destroy,
And soon should fall the haughty tow'rs of

Troy!

445

But Jove forbids, who plunges those he hates
In sierce contention and in vain debates.
Now great Achilles from our aid withdraws,
By me provok'd; a captive maid the cause:
If e'er as friends we join, the Trojan wall 450
Must shake, and heavy will the vengeance
fall!

But now, ye warriours, take a short repast;
And, well-refresh'd, to bloody conflict haste.
His sharpen'd spear let ev'ry Grecian wield,
And ev'ry Grecian six his brazen shield, 455
Let all excite the siery steeds of war,
And all for combat sit the ratling car.
This day, this dreadful day, let each contend;
No rest, no respite, 'till the shades descend;
Till darkness, or 'till death, shall cover all: 460
Let the war bleed, and let the mighty fall!
Till bath'd in sweat be ev'ry manly breast,
With the huge shield each brawny arm depress,

Each aking nerve refuse the lance to throw,
And each spent courser at the chariot blow. 465
Who dares, inglorious, in his ships to stay,
Who dares to tremble on this signal day;
That wretch, too mean to fall by martial pow'r,
The birds shall mangle, and the dogs devour.

The monarch spoke; and strait a murmur rose,

Loud as the furges when the tempest blows,
That dash'd on broken rocks tumultuous roar,
And foam and thunder on the stony shore.
Strait to the tents the troops dispersing bend,
The fires are kindled, and the smokes ascend; 475
With hasty feasts they sacrifice, and pray
T' avert the dangers of the doubtful day.
A steer of sive year's age, large limb'd, and
fed,

To Jove's high altars Agamemnon led:
There bade the noblest of the Grecian Peers, 480
And Nestor first, as most advanc'd in years.
Next came Idomeneus, and Tydeus' son,
Ajax the less, and Ajax Telamon;



BOOK II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 113
Then wife Ulysses in his rank was plac'd;
And Menelais came unbid, the last. 485
The Chiefs surround the destin'd beast, and take

The facred off'ring of the falted cake:
When thus the King prefers his folemn pray'r,
Oh thou! whose thunder rends the clouded air,
Who in the heav'n of heav'ns has fix'd thy throne,
Supreme of Gods! unbounded, and alone! 491
Hear! and before the burning sun descends,
Before the night her gloomy veil extends,
Low in the dust be laid yon' hostile spires,
Be Priam's palace sunk in Grecian sires, 495
In Hestor's breast be plung'd this shining sword,
And slaughter'd Heroes groan around their Lord!

^{\$. 485.} And Menelaus came unbid.] The criticks have entered into a warm dispute, whether Menelaus was in the right or in the wrong, in coming uninvited: some maintaining it the part of an impertinent or a fool to intrude upon another man's table; and others insisting upon the privilege a brother or a kinsman may claim in this case. The English reader had not been troubled with the anslation of this word Aυδόμαδος, but that Plato and Plutarch have taken notice of the passage. The verse following this, in most editions, 'Hôre γὰρ καθά θυμόν, &c. being rejected as spurious by Demetrius Phalereus, is omitted here upon his authority.

114 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 11.

Thus pray'd the Chief: his unavailing pray'r Great Jove refus'd, and tost in empty air: The God averse, while yet the fumes arose, 500 Prepar'd new toils, and doubled woes on woes. Their pray'rs perform'd, the Chiefs the rite pursue, The barley sprinkled, and the victim slew. The limbs they sever from th' inclosing hide, The thighs, selected to the Gods, divide. On these, in double cauls involv'd with art, The choicest morsels lie from ev'ry part. From the cleft wood the crackling flames aspire, While the fat victims feed the sacred fire. The thighs thus facrific'd, and entrails drest, 510 Th' assistants part, transfix, and roast the rest; Then spread the tables, the repast prepare, Each takes his seat, and each receives his share. Soon as the rage of hunger was supprest, The gen'rous Nestor thus the Prince addrest. 515

Now bid thy heralds found the loud alarms, And call the fquadrons sheath'd in brazen arms: Now seize th' occasion, now the troops survey, And lead to war when heav'n directs the way.



Book II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 115

He said; the monarch issu'd his commands; 520 Strait the loud heralds call the gath'ring bands. The chiefs inclose their King; the hosts divide, In tribes and nations rank'd on either side. High in the midst the blue-ey'd Virgin slies; From rank to rank she darts her ardent eyes: 525 The dreadful Ægis, Jove's immortal shield, Blaz'd on her arm, and lighten'd all the field: Round the vast orb an hundred serpents roll'd, Form'd the bright fringe, and seem'd to burn in gold.

y. 526. The dreadful Ægis, Jove's immortal shield.] Homer does not expressly call it a shield in this place, but it is plain from several other passages that it was so. In the fifth Iliad, this Ægis is described with a sublimity that is inexpressible. The figure of the Gorgon's head upon it is there specified, which will justify the mention of the serpents in the translation here: the verses are remarkably sonorous in the original. The Image of the Goddess of battles blazing with her immortal shield before the army, inspiring every Hero, and assisting to range the troops, is agreeable to the bold painting of our author. And the encouragement of a divine power seemed no more than was requisite, to change so totally the dispositions of the Grecians, as to make them now more ardent for the combat than they were before desi us of a return. This finishes the conquest of their inclinations, in a manner at once wonderfully poetical, and correspondent to the moral which is every where spread through Homer, that nothing is entirely brought about but by the divine assistance.

N. S. H. O.

With this each *Grecian*'s manly breast she warms, Swells their bold hearts, and strings their nervous arms;

No more they figh, inglorious to return But breathe revenge, and for the combat burn.

As on some mountain, thro' the lofty grove,
The crackling slames ascend, and blaze above;
The fires expanding as the winds arise,
536
Shoot their long beams, and kindle half the skies:
So from the polish'd arms, and brazen shields,
A gleamy splendour flash'd along the fields.

*. 534. As on some mountain, &c.] The imagination of Homer was so vast and so lively, that whatsoever objects presented themselves before him, impressed their images so forcibly, that he poured them forth in comparisons equally simple and noble; without forgetting any circumstance which could instruct the reader, and make him see those objects in the same strong light wherein he saw them himself. And in this one of the principal beauties of poetry consists. Homer, on the fight of the march of this numerous army, gives us five similes in a breath, but all entirely different. The first regards the splendour of their armour, as a fire, &c. The second the various movements of so many thousands before they can range themselves in battle array, like the swans, &c. The third respects their number, as the leaves or flowers, &c. The fourth the ardour with which they run to the combat, like the legions of insects, &c. And the fifth the obedience and exact discipline of the troops, ranged without confusion under their leaders, as flocks under their shepherds. This fecundity and variety can never be enough admired. Dacier.

117

Book II. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Not less their number than th' embody'd cranes, Or milk-white swans in Asius' watry plains, 541

y. 541. Or milk iwhite swans on Asius' watry plains.] Scaliger, whe dome just to our author, yet consesses these verses to be plenissima nectaris. But he is greatly mistaken when he accuses this simile of impropriety, on the supposition that a number of birds flying without order are here compared to an army ranged in array of battle. On the contrary, Homer in this expresses the stir and tumult the troops were in, before they got into order, running together from the ships and tents: Neων ἄπο, καὶ κλισιάων. But when they are placed in their ranks, he compares them to the flocks under their shepherds. This distinction will plainly appear from the detail of the five similes in the foregoing note.

Virgil has imitated this with great happiness in his seventh Eneid.

- " Ceu quondam nivei liquida inter nubila cycni
- "Cùm sese e pastu referunt, & longa canoros
- "Dant per colla modos, sonat amnis & Asia longe
- " Pulfa palus" -

Like a long team of snowy swans on high, Which clap their wings and cleave the liquid sky, When homeward from their watry pastures born, They sing, and Asia's lakes their notes return.

Mr. Dryden in this place has mistaken Assus for Assa, which Virgil took care to distinguish by making the first syllable of Assus long, as of Assa short. Though (if we believe Madam Dacier) he was himself in an error, both here and in the first Georgic.

" — — Quæ Asia circum

" Dulcibus in stagnis rimantur prata Caystri."

For she will not allow that 'Aoiw can be a Patronymic adjective, but the genitive of a proper name, 'Aoiw, which being turned into

That o'er the windings of Cayster's springs, Stretch their long necks, and clap their rustling wings,

Now tow'r aloft, and course in airy sou ds

Now light with noise; with noise the field re
sounds.

Thus num'rous and confus'd, extending wide,
The legions croud Scamander's flow'ry side;
With rushing troops the plains are cover'd o'er,
And thund'ring footsteps shake the sounding shore
Along the river's level meads they stand,
550
Thick as in spring the flow'rs adorn the land,
Or leaves the trees; or thick as insects play,
The wandring nation of a summer's day.

Ionic is 'Aσιεω, and by a Syncope makes 'Aσίω. This puts me in mind of another criticism upon the 290th verse of this book: 'tis observed that Virgil uses Inarime for Arime, as if he had read Εὐαρίμοις, instead of Εἰν Αρίμοις. Scaliger ridicules this trivial remark, and asks if it can be imagined that Virgil was ignorant of the name of a place so near him as Baiæ? It is indeed unlucky for good writers, that men who have learning, should lay a stress upon such trisses; and that those who have none, should think it learning to do so.

*. 552. Or thick as insects play.] This simile translated literally runs thus; As the numerous troops of flie, about a shep-berd's cottage in the spring, when the milk moistens the pails; such numbers of Greeks stood in the field against the Trojans, desiring



Book II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 119

That drawn by milky steams, at evining hours, In gather'd swarms surround the rural bow'rs; 555 From pail to pail with busy murmur run The gilded legions, glitt'ring in the sun. So throng'd, so close, the *Grecian* squadrons stood In radiant arms, and thirst for *Trojan* blood.

their destruction. The lowness of this image, in comparison with those which precede it, will naturally shock a modern critick, and would scarce be forgiven in a poet of these times. The utmost a translator can do is to heighten the expression, fo as to render the disparity less observable: which is endeavoured here, and in other places. If this be done successfully, the reader is so far from being offended at a low idea, that it raises his surprise to find it grown great in the poet's hands, of which we have frequent instances in Virgil's Georgicks. Here follows another of the same kind, in the simile of Agamemnon to a Bull, just after he has been compared to Jove, Mars, and Neptune. This, Eustathius tells us, was blamed by some criticks, and Mr. Hobbes has left it out in his translation. The liberty has been taken here to place the humbler simile first, reserving the noble one as a more magnificent close of the description: the bare turning the sentence removes the objection. Milton, who was a close imitator of our author, has often copied him in these humble comparisons. He has not scrupled to insert one in the midst of that pompous description of the rout of the rebel angels in the fixth book, where the Son of Cod in all his dreadful Majesty is represented pouring his vengeance upon them:

Of goats, or tim'rous flocks together throng'd,
Drove them before him thunder-struck

ALENT OF

Each leader now his scatter'd force conjoins, 500 In close array, and forms the deep'ning lines. Not with more ease, the skilful shepherd swain Collects his flocks from thousands on the plain. The King of Kings, majestically tall, Tow'rs o'er his armies, and outshines them all: Like some proud Bull that round the pastures leads His subject-herds, the Monarch of the meads. Great as the Gods, th' exalted Chief was seen, His strength like Neptune, and like Mars his mien, Your o'er his eyes celestial glories spread, And dawning conquest play'd around his head.

Say, Virgins, seated round the throne divine, All-knowing Goddesses! immortal Nine!

^{*. 568.} Great as the Gods.] Homer here describes the figure and port of Agamemnon with all imaginable grandeur, in making him appear cloathed with the majesty of the greatest of the Gods; and when Plutarch (in his second oration of the fortune of Alexander) blamed the comparison of a man to three deities at once, that censure was not passed upon Homer as a Poet, but by Plutarch as a Priest. This character of Majesty, in which Agamemnon excels all the other Heroes, is preserved in the different views of him throughout the Iliad. It is thus he appears on his ship in the catalogue; thus he shines in the eyes of Priam in the third book; thus again in the beginning of the eleventh; and so in the rest.

y. 572. Say, Virgins.] It is hard to conceive any address more solemn, any opening to a subject more noble and mag-

BOOK II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 121

Since earth's wide regions, heav'n's unmeasur'd height,

And hell's abyse, hide nothing from your sight, (We, wretched mortals! lost in doubts below, But guess by rumour, and but boast we know) Oh say what Heroes, fir'd by thirst of fame, Or urg'd by wrongs, to Troy's destruction came? To count them all, demands a thousand tongues, A throat of brass and adamantine lungs. 58r Daughters of Jove assist! inspir'd by you The mighty labour dauntless I pursue: What crouded armies, from what climes they bring,

Their names, their numbers, and their Chiefs I fing.

That omnipresence he gives to the Muses, their post in the highest Heaven, their comprehensive survey through the whole extent of the creation, are circumstances greatly imagined. Nor is any thing more persectly sine, or exquisitely moral, than the opposition of the extensive knowledge of the divinities on the one side, to the blindness and ignorance of mankind on the other. The greatness and importance of his subject is highly raised by his exalted manner of declaring the difficulty of it, Not tho' my lungs were brass, &c. and by the air he gives, as if what follows were immediately inspired, and no less than the joint labour of all the Muses.

The CATALOGUE of the SHIPS.

THE hardy warriours whom Bæotin bred,

Penclius, Leitus, Prothoënor led:

With these Arcesilaus and Clonius stand,

Equal in arms, and equal in command.

These head the troops that rocky Aulis yields, 590

And Eteon's hills, and Hyrie's watry sields,

And Schænos, Scholos, Græa near the main,

And Mycalessia's ample piny plain.

Those who in Peteon or Ilesion dwell,

Or Harma where Apollo's Prophet fell; 595

*. 586. The hardy warriours.] The catalogue begins in this place, which I forbear to treat of at present: only I must acknowledge here that the translation has not been exactly punctual to the order in which Homer places his towns. However it has not trespassed against Geography; the transpositions I mention being no other than such minute ones, as Strabo confesses the author himself is not free from: Ο δὶ Ποιπδης γένια μὰν χώρας λέγει ζυνεχῶς, ὥσπες καὶ κεῦται. Οἱθ ὑρίπν ἐνέμουδο, καὶ Αὐλδα, &c. Ἦλλο τὰ δ΄ ἐχ ὡς ἔςι τῆ τάξει, Σκοῦνον τὰ Σκόλον τε, Θέο πειαν Γραῖάν τε. lib. 8. There is not to my remembrance any place throughout this catalogue omitted; a liberty which Mr. Dryden has made no difficulty to take, and to confess, in his Virgil. But a more scrupulous care was owing to Homer, on account of that wonderful exactness and unequalled diligence, which he has particularly shewn in this part of his work.

BOOK II. HOMER'S ILIAD.

Heleon and Hyle, which the springs o'erflow; And Medeon lofty, and Ocalea low; Or in the meads of Haliartus stray, Or Thespia sacred to the God of Day. Onchestus, Neptune's celebrated groves; 600 Copæ, and Thishe, fam'd for silver doves, For flocks Erythræ, Glissa for the vine; Platea green, and Nisa the divine. And they whom Thebe's well-built walls enclose, Where Myde, Eutresis, Corone rose; 605 And Arnè rich, with purple harvests crown'd; And Anthedon, Bæotia's utmost bound. Full fifty ships they send, and each conveys, Twice fixty warriours thro' the foaming feas. To these succeed Aspledon's martial train, 610

To these succeed Aspledon's martial train, 610 Who plow the spacious Orchomenian plain. Two valiant brothers rule the undaunted throng. Ialmen and Ascalaphus the strong:
Sons of Astrochè, the heav'nly fair,
Whose virgin charms subdu'd the God of War:
(In Astor's court as she retir'd to rest, 616)
The strength of Mars the blushing maid comprest)

HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 11.

Their troops in thirty sable vessels sweep With equal oars, the hoarse-resounding deep.

Tho Phocians next in forty barks repair, 620 Epistrophus and Schedius head the war.

From those rich regions where Cephissus leads His silver current thro' the slow'ry meads; From Panopea, Chrysa the divine,

Where Anemoria's stately turrets shine, 625

Where Pytho, Daulis, Cyparissus stood,

And fair Lilæa views the rising flood.

These rang'd in order on the floating tide,

Close, on the left, the bold Bæotians side.

Fierce Ajax led the Locrian squadrons on, 630
Ajax the less, Oileus' valiant son;
Skill'd to direct the flying dart aright;
Swift in pursuit, and active in the fight.
Him, as their Chief, the chosen troops attend,
Which Bessa, Thronus, and rich Cynos send: 635
Opus, Calliarus, and Scarphe's bands;
And those who dwell where pleasing Augia stands,
And where Boagrius floats the lowly lands,

BOOK II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 125

Or in fair Tarphe's sylvan seats reside;
In forty vessels cut the yielding tide.
640

Eubæa next her martial sons prepares,

And fends the brave Abantes to the wars:-

Breathing revenge, in arms they take their way From Chalcis' walls, and strong Eretria;

Th' Isteian fields for gen'rous vines renown'd, 645

The fair Caristos, and the Styrian ground;

Where Dios from her tow'rs o'erlooks the plain,

And high Cerinthus views the neighb'ring main.

Down their broad shoulders falls a length of hair;

Their hands dismiss not the long lance in air; 650

*. 649. Down their broad shoulders, &c.] The Greek has it ὅπιθεν κομόων ες, à tergo comantes. It was the custom of these people to shave the fore-part of their heads, which they did that their enemies might not take the advantage of seizing them by the hair: the hinder-part they let grow, as a valiant race that would never turn their backs. Their manner of sighting was hand to hand, without quitting their javelins (in the manner of our pike-men). Plutarch tells us this in the life of Theseus, and cites, to strengthen the authority of Homer, some verses of Archilochus to the same effect. Eobanus Hessus, who translated Homer into Latin verse, was therefore mistaken in his version of this passage.

- "Præcipuè jaculatores, hastamque periti
- " Vibrare, & longis contingere pectora telis."

126 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK II

But with portended spears in fighting fields, Pierce the tough cors'lets and the brazen shields Twice twenty ships transport the warlike bands, Which bold *Elphenor*, fierce in arms, commands.

Full fifty more from Athens stem the main, 655 Led by Menestheus thro' the liquid plain, (Athens the fair, where great Erectheus sway'd, That ow'd his nurture to the blue-ey'd maid, But from the teeming furrow took his birth, The mighty offspring of the foodful earth. 660 Him Pallas plac'd amidst her wealthy fane, Ador'd with facrifice and oxen flain: Where as the years revolve, her altars blaze, And all the tribes resound the Goddess' praise) No Chief like thee, Menestheus! Greece could yield, To marshal armies in the dusty field, 666 Th' extended wings of battle to display, Or close th' embody'd host in firm array. Nestor alone, improv'd by length of days, For martial conduct bore an equal praise. 670 With these appear the Salaminian bands, Whom the gigantic Telamon commands;

BOOK II. HOMER'S ILIAD.

In twelve black ships to Troy they steer their course,

And with the great Athenians join their force.

Next move to war the gen'rous Argive train, From high Træzenè, and Maseta's plain, 676 And fair Ægina circled by the main:

Whom strong Tyrinthè's lofty walls surround, And Epidaur with viny harvests crown'd:
And where fair Asinen and Hermion show 680 Their cliffs above, and ample bay below.

These by the brave Euryalus were led, Great Sthenelus, and greater Diomed,
But chief Tydides bore the sov'reign sway;
In sourscore barks they plow the watry way. 685 The proud Mycenè arms her martial pow'rs,

Cleonè, Corinth, with imperial tow'rs,
Fair Aræthyrea, Ornia's fruitful plain,
And Ægion, and Adrastus' ancient reign;
And those who dwell along the sandy shore, 690
And where Pellenè yields her sleecy store,
Where Helicè and Hyperesia lie,
And Gonoëssa's spires salute the sky.

REAL OF

Great Agameninon rules the num'rous band,
A hundred vessels in long order stand, 695
And crouded nations wait his dread command.
High on the deck the King of men appears,
And his refulgent arms in triumph wears;
Proud of his host, unrival'd in his reign,
In silent pomp he moves along the main. 700

His brother follows, and to vengeance warms
The hardy Spartans, exercis'd in arms:
Phares and Brysia's valiant troops, and those
Whom Lacedæmon's lofty hills inclose:
Or Messe's tow'rs for silver doves renown'd, 705
Amyclæ, Laas, Augia's happy ground,
And those whom Octylos' low walls contain,
And Helos, on the margin of the main:
These, o'er the bending ocean, Helen's cause,
In sixty ships with Menelaus draws:
710
Eager and loud from man to man he slies,
Revenge and fury slaming in his eyes;

^{\$.711.} Eager and loud from man to man he flies.] The figure Menelaus makes in this place is remarkably distinguished from the rest, and sufficient to shew his concern in the war was personal, while the others acted only for interest or glory



129

BOOK II. HOMERS ILIAD.

While vainly fond, in fancy oft he hears The fair-one's grief, and sees her falling tears.

In ninety fail, from Pylos' fandy coast, 715
Nestor the sage conducts his chosen host:
From Amphigenia's ever-fruitful land;
Where Æpy high, and little Pteleon stand;
Where beauteous Arene her structures shows,
And Thryon's walls Alpheus' streams inclose: 720
And Dorion, fam'd for Thamyris' disgrace,
Superiour once of all the tuneful race,

in general. No leader in all the list is represented thus eager and passionate; he is louder than them all in his exhortations; more active in running among the troops; and inspirited with the thoughts of revenge, which he still encreases with the secret imagination of Helen's repentance. This behaviour is finely imagined.

The epithet \$\begin{array}{c} \text{inyable}_{\beta}\$, which is applied in this and other places to Menelaus, and which literally fignifies loud-voiced, is mad by the Commentators to mean valiant, and translated \$\beta_{\text{loo}}\$ frenus. The reason given by Eustathius is, that a loud voice is a mark of strength, the usual effect of fear being to cut short the respiration. I own this seems to be forced, and rather believe it was one of those kind of sirnames given from some distinguishing quality of the person (as that of a loud voice might belong to Menelaus) which Mons Boileau mentions in his ninth restection upon Longinus; in the same manner as some of our Kings were called Edward Long-shanks, William Rusus, &c. But however it be, the epithet taken in the literal sense has a beauty in this verse from the circumstance Menelaus is described in, which determined the translator to use it.

130 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 11.

'Till vain of mortals empty praise, he strove To match the feed of cloud-compelling Jove! Too daring bard! whose unsuccessful pride 725, Th immortal Muses in their art defy'd. Th' avenging Muses of the light of day Depriv'd his eyes, and snatch d his voice away; No more his heav'nly voice was heard to fing, His hand no more awak'd the filver string. 730 Where under high Cyllenè, crown'd with wood, The shaded tomb of old Æpytus stood; From Ripè, Stratie, Tegea's bordering towns, The Phenean fields, and Orchomenian downs, Where the fat herds in plenteous pasture rove; And Stymphelus with her surrounding grove, 736 Parrhafia, on her snowy cliffs reclin'd, And high Enispe shook by wintry wind, And fair Mantinea's ever-pleasing site; In fixty sail th' Arcadian bands unite. 740 Bold Agapenor, glorious at their head, (Ancœus' son) the mighty squadron led. Their ships, supply'd by Agamemnon's care, Thro' roaring feas the wond'ring warriours bear;



Book II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 131

The first to battle on th' appointed plain, 745
But new to all the dangers of the main.

Those, where fair Elis and Buprasium join; Whom Hyrmin, here, and Myrsinus confine, And bounded there, where o'er the valleys rose Th' Olenian rock; and where Alisium flows; 750 Beneath four chiefs (a num'rous army) came: The strength and glory of th' Epean name. In sep'rate squadrons these their train divide, Each leads ten vessels thro' the yielding tide. One was Amphimachus, and Thalpius one; 755 (Eurytus' this, and that Teätus' son)

Diores sprung from Amarynceus' line;
And great Polyxenus, of force divine.

But those who view fair Elis o'er the seas From the blest Islands of th' Echinades, 760

y. 746. New to all the dangers of the main.] The Arcadians being an inland people were unskilled in navigation, for which reason Agamemnon furnished them with shipping. From hence, and from the last line of the description of the sceptre, where he is said to preside over many islands, Thucydides takes occasion to observe that the power of Agamemnen was superiour to the rest of the Princes of Greece, on account of his naval forces, which had rendered him master of the sea. Thucyd. lib. 1.

HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK II

In forty vessels under Meges move,
Begot by Phyleus the belov'd of Jove.
To strong Dulichium from his sire he fled,
And thence to Troy his hardy warriours led.

Ulysses follow'd thro' the watry road, 765
A chief, in wisdom equal to a God.
With those whom Cephalenia's isle inclos'd,
Or till their fields along the coast oppos'd;
Or where fair Ithaca o'erlooks the floods,
Where high Neritos shakes his waving woods,
Where Ægilipa's rugged sides are seen, 771
Crocylia rocky, and Zacynthus green.
These in twelve galleys with vermillion prores,
Beneath his conduct sought the Phrygian shores.

Thoas came next, Andramon's valiant son, 775
From Pleuron's walls, and chalky Calydon,
And rough Pylene, and th' Olenian steep,
And Chalcis beaten by the rolling deep.
He led the warriours from th' Ætolian shore,
For now the sons of Oeneus were no more! 780
The glories of the mighty race were fled!
Oeneus himself, and Meleager dead!

133

Book II. HOMER'S ILIAD.

To Thoas' care now trust the martial train, His forty vessels follow thro' the main.

Next eighty barks the Cretan king commands, Of Gnossus, Lyetus, and Gortyna's bands, And those who dwell where Rhytion's domes arise, Or white Lycastus glitters to the skies, Or where by Phæstus silver Jardan runs; Crete's hundred cities pour forth all her sons. 790 These march'd, Idomeneus, beneath thy care, And Merion, dreadful as the God of war. Tlepolemus, the son of Hercules, Led nine swift vessels thro' the foamy seas; From Rhodes with everlasting sunshine bright, 795

Jalysus, Lindus, and Camirus white.

His captive mother ficrce Alcides bore, From Ephyr's walls, and Selle's winding shore, Where mighty towns in ruins spread the plain, And saw their blooming warriours early slain. 800 The Hero, when to manly years he grew, Alcides' uncle, old Licymnius, slew; For this, constrain'd to quit his native place, An I shun the vengeance of th' Herculean race,



134 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK II.

A fleet he built, and with a num'rous train, 805 Of willing exiles, wander'd o'er the main; Where many feas, and many fuff'rings past, On happy Rhodes the chief arriv'd at last: There in three tribes divides his native band, And rules them peaceful in a foreign land; 810 Encreas'd and prosper'd in their new abodes, By mighty Jove, the sire of men and Gods; With joy they saw the growing empire rise, And show'rs of wealth descending from the skies.

Three ships with Nireus sought the Trojan shore, Nireus, whom Agläe to Charopus bore, 816

1. 815. Three ships with Nireus.] This leader is no where mentioned but in these lines, and is an exception to the obfervation of Macrobius, that all the persons of the catalogue make their appearance afterwards in the poem. Flomer himfelf gives us the reason, because Nireus had but a sma. Pare of worth and valour; his Quality only gave him a privilege to be named among men. The poet has caused him to be remembered no less than Achilles or Ulysses, but yet in no better manner than he deserved, whose only qualification was his Beauty: 'tis by a bare repetition of his name three times, which just leaves some impression of him on the mind of the reader. Many others, of as trivial memory as Nireus, have been preserved by Poets from oblivion; but few Poets have ever done this favour to want of merit, with so much judgment. Demetrius Phalereus west Epunveias, sect. 61. takes notice of this beautiful repetition, which in a just deference to so delicate a Critick is here preserved in the translation.



Book II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 135

Nireus, in faultless shape and blooming grace,
The loveliest youth of all the Grecian race;
Pelides only match'd his early charms;
819
But few his troops, and small his strength in arms.

Next thirty galleys cleave the liquid plain,
Of those Calydnæ's sea-girt isles contain;
With them the youth of Nisyrus repair,
Casus the strong, and Crapathus the fair;
Cos, where Eurypylus possest the sway,
'Till great Alcides made the realms obey:
These Antiphus and bold Phidippus bring,
Sprung from the God by Thessalus the King.

Now, Muse, recount Pelasgic Argos' pow'rs, From Alos, Alopè, and Trechin's tow'rs; 830 From Phthia's spacious vales; and Hella, blest With semale beauty far beyond the rest. Full sifty ships beneath Achilles' care, Th' Achaians, Myrmidons, Hellenians bear; Thessall, tho' various in their name; 835 The same their nation, and their chief the same. But now inglorious, stretch'd along the shore, They hear the brazen voice of war no more;

136 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 11.

No more the foe they face in dire array:

Close in his fleet the angry leader lay;

Since fair Brises from his arms was torn,

The noblest spoil from fack'd Lyrnessus borne.

Then, when the chief the Theban walls o'erthrew,

And the bold sons of great Evenus slew.

There mourn'd Achilles, plung'd in depth of care,

845

But soon to rise in slaughter, blood, and war.

To these the youth of Phylace succeed, Itona, famous for her fleecy breed, And graffy Pteleon deck'd with cheerful greens, The bow'rs of Ceres, and the sylvan scenes, 850 Sweet Pyrrhasus, with blooming flourets crown'd, And Antron's watry dens, and cavern'd ground. These own'd as chief Protesilas the brave, Who now lay filent in the gloomy grave: The first who boldly touch'd the Trojan shore, 855 And dy'd a Phrygian lance with Grecian gore; There lies, far distant from his native plain; Unfinish'd, his proud palaces remain, And his sad consort beats her breast in vain.

Book II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 137

His troops in forty ships Podarces led, 860 Iphiclus' son, and brother to the dead;
Nor he unworthy to command the host;
Yet still they mourn'd their ancient leader lost.

The men who Glaphyra's fair soil partake,
Where hills encircle Bæbe's lowly lake, 865
Where Phære hears the neighb'ring waters fall,
Or proud Iolcus lifts her airy wall,
In ten black ships embark'd for Ilion's shore,
With bold Eumelus, whom Alceste bore:
All Pelias' race Alceste far outshin'd, 870
The grace and glory of the beauteous kind.

The troops Methone, or Thaumacia yields, Olizon's rocks, or Melibæa's fields, With PhiloEtetes fail'd, whose matchless art, 874. From the tough bow direEts the feather'd dart.

^{**. 871.} The grace and glory of the beauteous kind.] He gives Alcestis this elogy of the glory of her sex, for her conjugal piety, who died to preserve the life of her husband Admetus. Euripides has a tragedy on this subject, which abounds in the most masterly strokes of tenderness: in particular the first act, which contains the description of her preparation for death, and of her behaviour in it, can never be enough admired,



138 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 11.

Sev'n were his ships; each vessel sisty row, Skill'd in his science of the dart and bow. But he lay raging on the Lemnian ground, A pois'nous Hydra gave the burning wound; There groan'd the chief in agonizing pain, 880 Whom Greece at length shall wish, nor wish in vain. His forces Medon led from Lemnos' shore, Oileus' son, whom beauteous Rhena bore.

Th' Oechalian race, in those high tow'rs contain'd,

Where once Eurytus in proud triumph reign'd, Or where her humbler turrets Tricca rears, Or where Ithomè, rough with rocks, appears; In thirty fail the sparkling waves divide, Which Podalirius and Machaon guide.

To these his skill their * Parent-God imparts, 890 Divine professors of the healing arts.

The bold Ormenian and Asterian bands
In forty barks Eurypylus commands,
Where Titan hides his hoary head in snow,
And where Hyperia's silver fountains flow. 895

Book II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 139

Thy troops, Argissa, Polypætes leads,
And Eleon, shelter'd by Olympus' shades,
Gyrtonè's warriours; and where Orthe lies,
And Oleösson's chalky cliffs arise.

Sprung from Pirithous of immortal race,
700
The fruit of fair Hippodame's embrace,

(That day, when hurl'd from Pelion's cloudy head,

To distant dens the shaggy Centaurs sled)
With Polypætes join'd in equal sway

Leonteus leads, and forty ships obey.

In twenty sail the bold Perrhæbians came From Cyphus, Guneus was their leader's name.

**y. 906. In twenty ships the bold Perrhæbians came.] I cannot tell whener it be worth observing that, except Ogilby, I have not met with one translator who has exactly preserved the number of the ships. Chapman puts eighteen under Eumelus instead of eleven: Hobbes but twenty under Ascalaphus and Ialmen instead of thirty, and but thirty under Menelaus instead of sixty: Valterie (the former French translator) has given Agapenor forty for sixty, and Nestor forty for ninety: Madam Daccier gives Nestor but eighty. I must confess this translation not to have been quite so exact as Ogilby's, having cut off one from the number of Eumelus's ships, and two from those of Guneus: eleven and two and twenty would sound but oddly in English verse, and a poem contracts a littleness by insisting on such trivial niceties.

With these the Enians join'd, and those who freeze, Where cold Dodona lifts her holy trees;
Or where the pleasing Titaresius glides, 910
And into Peneus rolls his easy tides;
Yet o'er the silver surface pure they slow,
The sacred stream unmix'd with streams below,
Sacred and awful! From the dark abodes 914
Styx pours them forth, the dreadful oath of Gods!

Last under Prothous the Magnesians stood,
Prothous the swift, of old Tenthredon's blood;
Who dwell where Pelion, crown'd with piny boughs,

Obscures the glade, and nods his shaggy brows; Or where thro' flow'ry Tempè Peneus stray'd, 920 (The region stretch'd beneath his mighty shade) In forty sable barks they stemm'd the main; Such were the chiefs, and such the Grecian train.

Say next, O Muse! of all Achaia breeds, 924 Who bravest fought, or rein'd the noblest steeds?

^{*. 925.} Or rein'd the noblest steeds.] This coupling together the men and horses seems odd enough; but Homer every where treats these noble animals with remarkable regard. We reed not wonder at this enquiry, which were the best horses? from

Book II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 141

Eumelus' mares were foremost in the chace, As eagles fleet, and of Pheretian race; Bred where Pieria's fruitful fountains flow, And train'd by him who bears the filver bow. 929 Fierce in the fight their nostrils breath'd a flame, Their height, their colour, and their age the same; O'er fields of death they whirl the rapid car, And break the ranks, and thunder thro' the war. Ajax in arms the first renown acquir'd, While stern Achilles in his wrath retir'd: 935 (His was the strength that mortal might exceeds, And his, th' unrival'd race of heav'nly steeds) But Thetis' son now shines in arms no more; His troops, neglected on the fandy shore,

him, who makes his horses of heavenly extraction as well as his howes; who makes his warriours address them with speeches, and excite them by all those motives which affect a human breast; who describes them shedding tears of sorrow, and even capable of voice and prophecy: in most of which points Virgil has not scrupled to imitate him.

y. 939. His troops, &c.] The image in these lines of the amusements of the Myrmidons, while Achilles detained them from the fight, has an exquisite propriety in it. Though they are not in action, their very diversions are military, and a kind of exercise of arms. The covered chariots and teeding horses, make a natural part of the picture; and nothing is than the manly concern of the captains, who as they are



142 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK II.

In empty air their sportive jav'lins throw, 940 Or whirl the disk, or bend an idle bow: Unstain'd with blood his cover'd chariots stand; Th' immortal coursers graze along the strand; But the brave Chiefs th' inglorious life deplor'd, And wand'ring o'er the camp, requir'd their Lord.

Now, like a deluge, cov'ring all around, 946 The shining armies sweep along the ground; Swift as a flood of fire, when storms arise, Floats the wide field, and blazes to the skies.

supposed more sensible of glory than the soldiers, take no share in their diversions, but wander sorrowfully round the camp, and lament their being kept from the battle. This difference betwixt the soldiers and the leaders (as Dacier observes) is a decorum of the highest beauty. Milton has admirably imitated this in the description he gives in his second book of the diversions of the angels during the absence of Lucifer.

Part on the plain, or in the air sublime, Upon the wing, or in swift race contend; Part curb their fiery steeds, or shun the goal With rapid wheels, or fronted brigades form.

But how nobly and judiciously has he raised the image, in proportion to the nature of those more exalted beings, in that which follows.

Others, with vast Typhæan rage more fell, Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air In whirlwind; hell scarce holds the wild uproar.

RENT OF

Book II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 143

Earth groan'd beneath them; as when angry 950

Hurls down the forky lightning from above,
On Arime when he the thunder throws,
And fires Typhæus with redoubled blows,
Where Typhon, prest beneath the burning load,
Still feels the fury of th' avenging God.

955

But various *Iris*, *Jove's* commands to bear, Speeds on the wings of winds thro' liquid air; In *Priam's* porch the *Trojan* chiefs she found, The old consulting, and the youths around.

y. 950. As when angry Jove.] The comparison preceding this, of a fire which runs through the corn and blazes to heaven, had exprest at once the dazling of their arms and the swiftness of their march. After which Homer having mentioned the found of their feet, superadds another simile, which comprehenus both the ideas of the brightness and the noise: for here (says Eustathius) the earth appears to burn and groan at the same time. Indeed the first of these similes is so full and so noble, that it scarce seemed possible to be exceeded by any image drawn from nature. But Homer to raise it yet higher, has gone into the marvellous, given a prodigious and supernatural prospect, and brought down Jupiter himself, arrayed in all his terrors, to discharge his lightnings and thunders. on Typhæus. The Poet breaks out into this description with an air of enthusiasm, which greatly heightens the image in general, while it seems to transport him beyond the limits of an exact comparison. And this daring manner is particular to ur author above all the ancients, and to Milton above all the moderns.

HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK II.

Polites' shape, the monarch's son, she chose, 960 Who from Æsetes' tomb observ'd the foes, High on the mound; from whence in prospect lay

The fields, the tents, the navy, and the bay. In this dissembled form, she hastes to bring Th' unwelcome message to the *Phrygian* King. 965

Cease to consult, the time for action calls,
War, horrid war, approaches to your walls!
Assembled armies oft' have I beheld;
But ne'er till now such numbers charg'd a field.
Thick as autumnal leaves or driving sand, 970
The moving squadrons blacken all the strand.
Thou, Godlike Hestor! all thy force employ,
Assemble all th' united bands of Troy;
In just array let ev'ry leader call 974
The foreign troops: this day demands them all.

The voice divine the mighty chief alarms;
The council breaks, the warriours rush to arms.

The gates unfolding pour forth all their train Nations on nations fill the dusky plain.

BOOK II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 145

Men, steeds, and chariots shake the trembling ground;

The tumult thickens, and the skies resound.

Amidst the plain in sight of Ilion stands

A rising mount, the work of human hands;

(This for Myrinne's tomb th' immortals know,

Tho' call'd Bateia in the world below) 985

Beneath their chiefs in martial order here,

Th' auxiliar troops and Trojan hosts appear.

The godlike *Hector*, high above the rest,

Shakes his huge spear, and nods his plumy

crest:

In throngs around his native bands repair, 990 And groves of lances glitter in the air.

Divine Aneas brings the Dardan race,

Anchifes' son, by Venus' stol'n embrace,

Born in the shades of Ida's secret grove,

(A mortal mixing with the Queen of Love) 995

Anchilochus and Acamas divide

The warriour's toils, and combat by his side. Who fair Zeleia's wealthy valleys till, st by the foot of Ida's sacred hill;

146 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 11

Or drink, Æsepus, of thy sable flood; 1000
Were led by Pandarus, of royal blood.
To whom his out Apollo deigh'd to them.

To whom his art Apollo deigh'd to show,

Grac'd with the presents of his shafts and bow.

From rich Apasus and Adrestia's tow'rs,
High Teree's summits, and Pityea's bow'rs; 1005
From these the congregated troops obey
Young Amphius and Adrastus' equal sway;

Old Merops' sons; whom, skill'd in fates to come,

The Sire forewarn'd, and prophefy'd their doom:

Fate urg'd them on! the sire forewarn'd in vain,

They rush'd to war, and perish'd on the plain. 1011

From Practius' stream, Percote's pasture lands,
And Sestos and Abydos' neighb'ring strands,
From great Arisba's walls and Selle's coast,
Assus Hyrtacides conducts his host:

1015
High on his car he shakes the flowing reins,
His siery coursers thunder o'er the plains.

^{4. 1012.} From Practius' stream, Percote's pasture lands.] Homer does not expressly mention Practius as a river, but Strabo, lib. 13. tells us it is to be understood so in this passage. The appellative of pasture lands to Percote is justified in the xvth Iliad, 4. 646. where Melannippus the son of Hicaran is said to feed his oxen in that place.

Book it. HOMER's ILIAD. 147

The fierce *Pelasgi* next, in war renown'd, March from *Larissa*'s ever-fertile ground: In equal arms their brother leaders shine, • 1020 *Hippothous* bold, and *Pyleus* the divine.

Next Acamas and Pyrous lead their hosts,
In dread array, from Thracia's wintry coasts;
Round the bleak realms where Hellespontus
roars,

And Boreas beats the hoarse-resounding shores.

With great Euphemus the Ciconians move, 1026 Sprung from Træzenian Ceüs, lov'd by Jove.

Pyræchmes the Pæonian troops attend,
Skill'd in the fight their crooked bows to bend;
From Axius' ample bed he leads them on, 1030
Axius, that laves the distant Amydon,
Axius, that swells with all his neighb'ring rills,
And wide around the floating region fills.

According to the common reading this verse should be transferted, Axius that diffuses his beautiful waters over the land. But we are assured by Strabo that Axius was a muddy river, and that the ancients understood it thus, Axius that receives into it see eral beautiful rivers. The criticism lies in the last words of the serie, Ain, which Strabo reads Ains, and interpret of the

148 HOMER'S ILIAD. BOOK 11.

The Paphlagonians Pylæmenes rules,
Where rich Henetia breeds her savage mules, 1035
Where Erythinus' rising clifts are seen,
Thy groves of box, Cytorus! ever green;
And where Ægyalus and Cromna lie,
And lofty Sesamus invades the sky; 1039
And where Parthenius, roll'd thro' banks of flow'rs,

Reflects her bord'ring palaces and bow'rs.

Here march'd in arms the *Halizonian* band,
Whom *Odius* and *Epistrophus* command,
From those far regions where the sun refines
The ripening silver in *Alybean* mines.

There, mighty Chromis led the Mysian train, And Augur Ennomus, inspir'd in vain, For stern Achilles lopt his sacred head, Roll'd down Scamander with the vulgar dead.

Phorcys and brave Ascanius here unite 1050 Th' Ascanian Phrygians, eager for the fight.

river Æa, whose waters were poured into Axius. However Homer describes this river agreeable to the vulgar reading in Il. xxi. y. 158. 'Αξίω, ος κάλλισον ύδως ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἵησιν. This v r sion takes in both.

Book II. HOMER'S ILIAD. 149

Of those who round *Mæonia*'s realms reside,
Or whom the vales in shades of *Tmolus* hide, *Mestles* and *Aniiphus* the charge partake;
Born on the banks of *Gyges*' silent lake. 1055
There, from the fields where wild *Mæander* flows,
High *Mycalè*, and *Latmos*' shady brows,
And proud *Miletus*, came the *Carian* throngs,
With mingled clamours, and with barb'rous tongues.

Amphimachus and Naustes guide the train, 1060 Naustes the bold, Amphimachus the vain, Who trick'd with gold, and glitt'ring on his car, Rode like a Woman to the field of war, Fool that he was! by fierce Achilles slain, The river swept him to the briny main: 1065 There whelm'd with waves the gaudy warriour lies; The valiant victor seiz'd the golden prize.

The forces last in fair array succeed,
Which blameless Glaucus and Sarpedon lead;
The warlike bands that distant Lycia yields, 1070
Where gulphy Xanthus foams along the fields,

P. CHION

OBSERVATIONS on the CATALOGUE.

I we look upon this piece with an eye to ancient learning, it may be observed, that however fabulous the other parts of Homer's poem may be, according to the nature of Epic Poetry; this account of the people, princes, and countries, is purely historical, founded on the real transactions of those times, and by far the most valuable piece of history and geography left us concerning the state of Greece in that early period, Greece was then divided into several Dynasties, which our Author has enumerated under their respective princes; and his division was looked upon so exact, that we are told of many controversies concerning the boundaries of Grecian cities, which have been decided upon the authority of this piece. Eustathius has collected together the following instances. The city of Calydon was adjudged to the Ætolians, notwithstanding the pretensions of Æolia, because Homer had ranked it among the towns belonging to the former. Sestos was given to those of Abydos, up on the plea that he had faid the Abydonians were possessions of Sessos, Abydos and Arisbe. When the Milesians and people of Priene disputed their claim to Mycale, a verse of Homer carried it in favour of the Milesians. And the Athenians weig put in possession of Salamis by another which



OESERVATIONS on the CATALOGUE. 151

was cited by Solon, or (as some think) interpolated by him for that purpose. Nay in so high estimation has this catalogue been held, that (as Porphyry has written) there have been laws in some nations for the youth to learn it by heart, and particularly Cerdias (whom Cuperus de Apophth. Homer. takes to be Cercydus, a Lawgiver of the Megalopolitans) made it one to his countrymen.

But if we consider the catalogue purely as poetical, it will not want its beauties in that light. Rapin, who was none of the most superstitious admirers of our author, reckons it among those parts which had particularly charmed him. We may observe first, what an air of probability is spread over the whole poem by the particularizing of every nation and people concerned in this war. Secondly, what an entertaining scene he presents to us, of so many countries drawn in their liveliest and most natural colours, while we wander along with him amidst a beautiful variety of towns, havens, forests, vineyards, groves, mountains, and rivers; and are perpetually amused with his observations on the different soils, products, situations, or prospects. Thirdly, what a noble review he passes before us of so mighty an army, drawn out in order troop by troop; which, had the number only been told in the g.ofs, had never filled the reader with so great a notion of the importance of the action.

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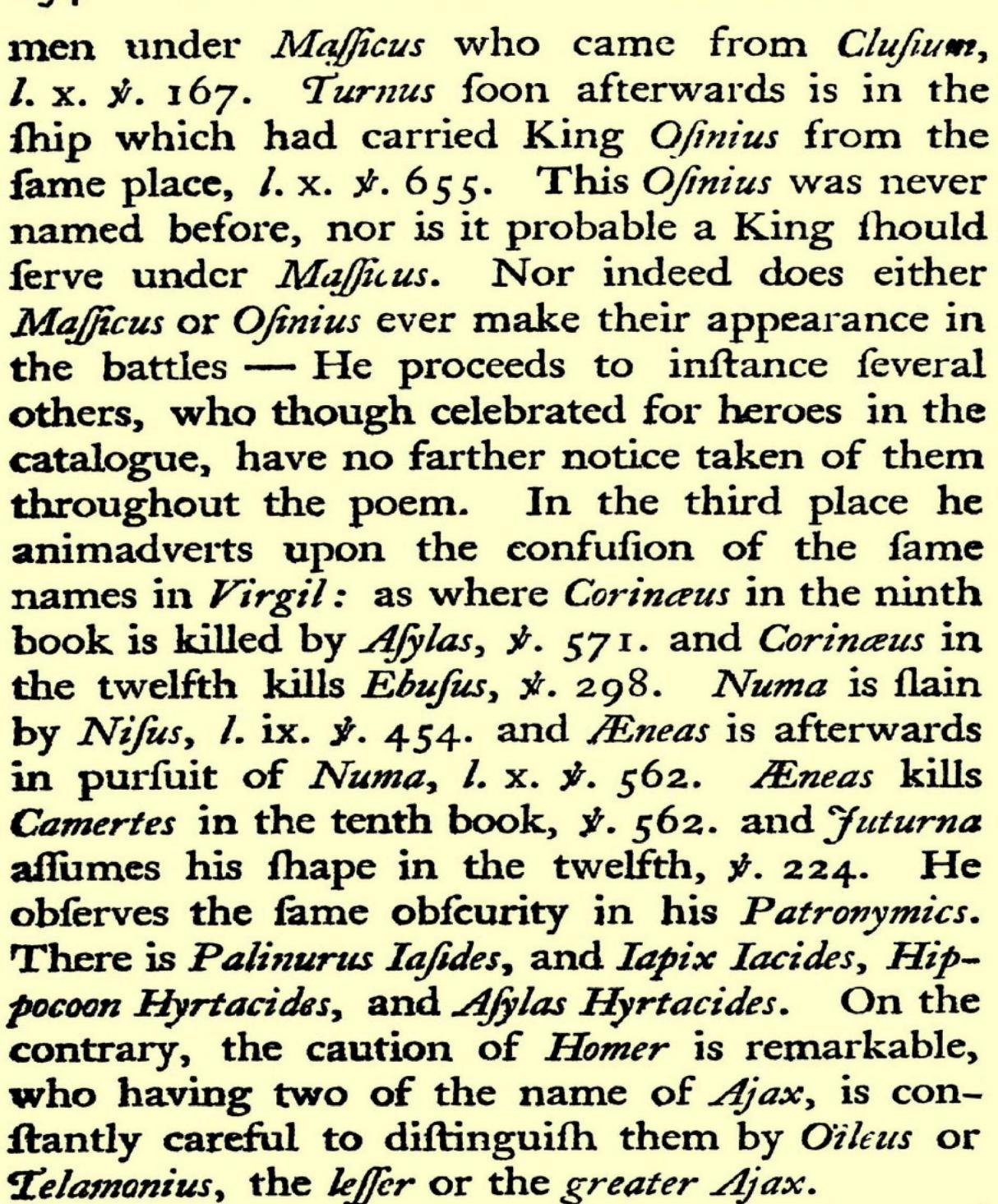
LENT OF

Fourthly, the description of the differing arms and manner of fighting of the soldiers, and the various attitudes he has given to the commanders: of the leaders, the greatest part are either the immediate sons of Gods, or the descendants of Gods; and how great an idea must we have of a war, to the waging of which so many Demigods and heroes are assembled? Fifthly, the several artful compliments he paid by this means to his own country in general, and many of his contemporaries in particular, by a celebration of the genealogies, ancient seats, and dominions of the great men of his time. Sixthly, the agreeable mixture of narrations from passages of history or fables, with which he amuses and re lieves us at proper intervals. And lastly, the admirable judgment wherewith he introduces this whole catalogue, just at a time when the posture of affairs in the army rendered fuch a review of absolute necessity to the Greeks; and in a pause of action, while each was refreshing himfelf to prepare for the ensuing battles.

Macrobius in his Saturnalia, lib. v. cap. 15. has given us a judicious piece of criticism, in the comparison betwixt the catalogues of Homer and Virgil, in which he justly allows the preference to our Author, for the following reasons. Homer (says he) has begun his description from the most noted promontory of Greece (he means that of Aulis, where was the narrowest passage

to Eubwa). From thence with a regular progress he describes either the maritime or mediterranean towns, as their situations are contiguous: he never passes with sudden leaps from place to place, omitting those which lle between; but proceeding like a traveller in the way he has begun, constantly returns to the place from whence he digressed, till he finishes the whole circle he designed. Virgil, on the contrary, has observed no order in the regions described in his catalogue, l. x. but is perpetually breaking from the course of the country in a loose and desultory manner. You have Clusium and Cose at the beginning, next Populonia and Ilva, then Pifæ, which lie at a vast distance in Etruria; and immediately after Cerete, Pyrgi, and Gravisca, places adjacent to Rome: from hence he is fnatched to Liguria, then to Mantua. The same negligence is observable in his enumeration of the aids that followed Turnus in 1.7. Macrobius next remarks, that all the persons who are named by Homer in his catalogue, are afterwards introduced in his battles, and whenever any others are killed, he mentions only a multitude in general. Whereas Virgil (he continues) has spared himself the labour of that exactness; for not only several whom he mentions in the list, are never heard of in the war, but others make figure in the war, of whom we had no notice the list. For example, he specifies a thousand





I know nothing to be alledged in defence of Virgil in answer to this author, but the common excuse that his Æneis was left unfinished. And upon the whole, these are such trivial slips,



OBSERVATIONS on the CATALOGUE. 155 as great Wits may pass over, and little Criticks rejoice at.

But Macrobius has another remark, which one may accuse of evident partiality on the side of Homer. He blames Virgil for having varied the expression in his catalogue, to avoid the repetition of the same words, and prefers the bare and unadorned reiterations of Homer; who begins almost every article the same way, and ends perpetually, Μέλαιναι νηες έπουλο, &c. Perhaps the best reason to be given for this, had been the artless manner of the first times, when such repetitions were not thought ungraceful. This may appear from several of the like nature in the scripture; as in the twenty-sixth chapter of Numbers, where the tribes of Israel are enumerated in the plains of Moab, and each division recounted in the same words. So in the seventh chapter of the Revelations: Of the tribe of Gad were sealed twelve thousand, &cc. But the words of Macrobius are, Has copias fortasse putat aliquis divinæ illi simplicitati præferendas. Sed nescio quo modo Homerum repetitio illa unice decet, & est genio antiqui Poetæ digna. This is exactly in the spirit, and almost in the cant, of a true modern critick. The Simplicitas, the Nescio quo modo, the Genio antiqui Poetæ digna, are excellent general phrases for those who have no reasons. Samplicity is our word of disguise for a shameful unpoetical neglect of expression; the term of

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the Je ne say quoy is the very support of all ignorant pretenders to delicacy; and to lift up our eyes, and talk of the Genius of an ancient, is at once the cheapest way of shewing our own taste, and the shortest way of criticizing the wit of others our contemporaries.

One may add to the foregoing comparison of these two authors, some reasons for the length of Homer's, and the shortness of Virgil's catalogues. As, that Homer might have a design to settle the geography of his country, there being no description of Greece before his days; which was not the case with Virgil. Homer's concern was to compliment Greece at a time when it was divided into many distinct states, each of which might expect a place in his catalogue: but when all Italy was swallowed up in the sole dominion of Rome, Virgil had only Rome to celebrate. Homer had a numerous army, and was to describe an important war with great and various events, whereas Virgil's sphere was much more confined. The ships of the Greeks were computed at about one thousand two hundred, those of Æneas and his aids but at two and forty; and as the time of the action of both poems is the same, we may suppose the built of their ships, and the number of men they contained, to be much alike. So that if the army of Homer amounts to about a hundred thousand men, that of Virgil cannot be above four thousand. If any one



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be farther curious to know upon what this computation is founded, he may see it in the following passage of Thucydides, lib. i. "Homer's " fleet (says he) consisted of one thousand two "hundred vessels: those of the Baotians carried " one hundred and twenty men in each, and "those of PhiloEtetes fifty. By these I suppose " Homer exprest the largest and the smallest size " of ships, and therefore mentions no other " fort. But he tells us of those who sailed with " PhiloEtetes, that they served both as mariners " and soldiers, in saying the rowers were all of "them archers. From hence the whole num-" ber will be seen, if we estimate the ships at a " medium between the greatest and the least." That is to say, at eighty-five men to each vessel (which is the mean between fifty and a hundred and twenty) the total comes to a hundred and two thousand men. Plutarch was therefore in a mistake, when he computed the men at a hundred and twenty thousand, which proceeded from his supposing a hundred and twenty in every ship; the contrary to which appears from the abovementioned ships of PhiloEtetes, as well as those from Achilles, which are said to carry but fifty men a-piece, in the sixteenth Iliad, y. 207.

Besides Virgil's imitation of this catalogue, there has scarce been any Epic writer but has copied after it; which is at least a proof how beautiful this part has been ever esteemed by the



finest geniuses in all ages. The catalogues in the ancient Poets are generally known, only I must take notice that the Phocian and Baotian towns in the fourth Thebaid of Statius are translated from hence. Of the moderns, those who most excel, owe their beauty to the imitation of fome fingle particular only of Homer. Thus the chief grace of Tasso's catalogue consists in the description of the heroes, without any thing remarkable on the fide of the countries: of the pieces of story he has interwoven, that of Tancred's amour to Clorinda is ill placed, and evidently too long for the rest. Spencer's enumeration of the British and Irish rivers in the eleventh canto of his fourth book, is one of the noblest in the world; if we consider his subject was more confined, and can excuse his not observing the order or course of the country; but his variety of description, and fruitfulness of imagination, are no where more admirable than in that part. Milton's list of the fallen angels in his first book, is an exact imitation of Homer, as far as regards the digressions of history, and antiquities, and his manner of inferting them: in all else I believe it must be allowed inferiour. And indeed what Macrobius has said to cast Virgil below Homer, will fall much more strongly upon all the rest.

I had some cause to fear that this catalogue; which contributed so much to the success of the

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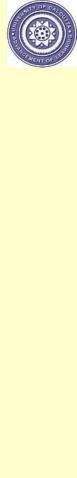
Author, should ruin that of the Translator. A mere heap of proper names, though but for a few lines together, could afford little entertainment to an English reader, who probably could not be apprized either of the necessity or beauty of this part of the Foem. There were but two things to be dbne to give it a chance to please him; to render the versification very flowing and musical, and to make the whole appear as much a landscape or piece of painting as possible. For both of these I had the example of Homer in general; and of Virgil, who found the necessity in another age to give more into description, seemed to authorise the latter in particular. Dionyfius of Halicarnassus, in his discourse of the Structure and disposition of words, professes to admire nothing more than the harmonious exactness with which Homer has placed these words, and softened the syllables into each other, so as to derive musick from a croud of names, which have in themselves no beauty or dignity. I would flatter myself that I have practised this not unsuccessfully in our language, which is more susceptible of all the variety and power of numbers, than any of the modern, and second to none but the Greek and Roman. For the latter point, I have ventured to open the prospect a little, by the addition of a few epithets or short hints of description to some of the places mentioned; though seldom exceeding the compass of half a verse (the space to which my Au-

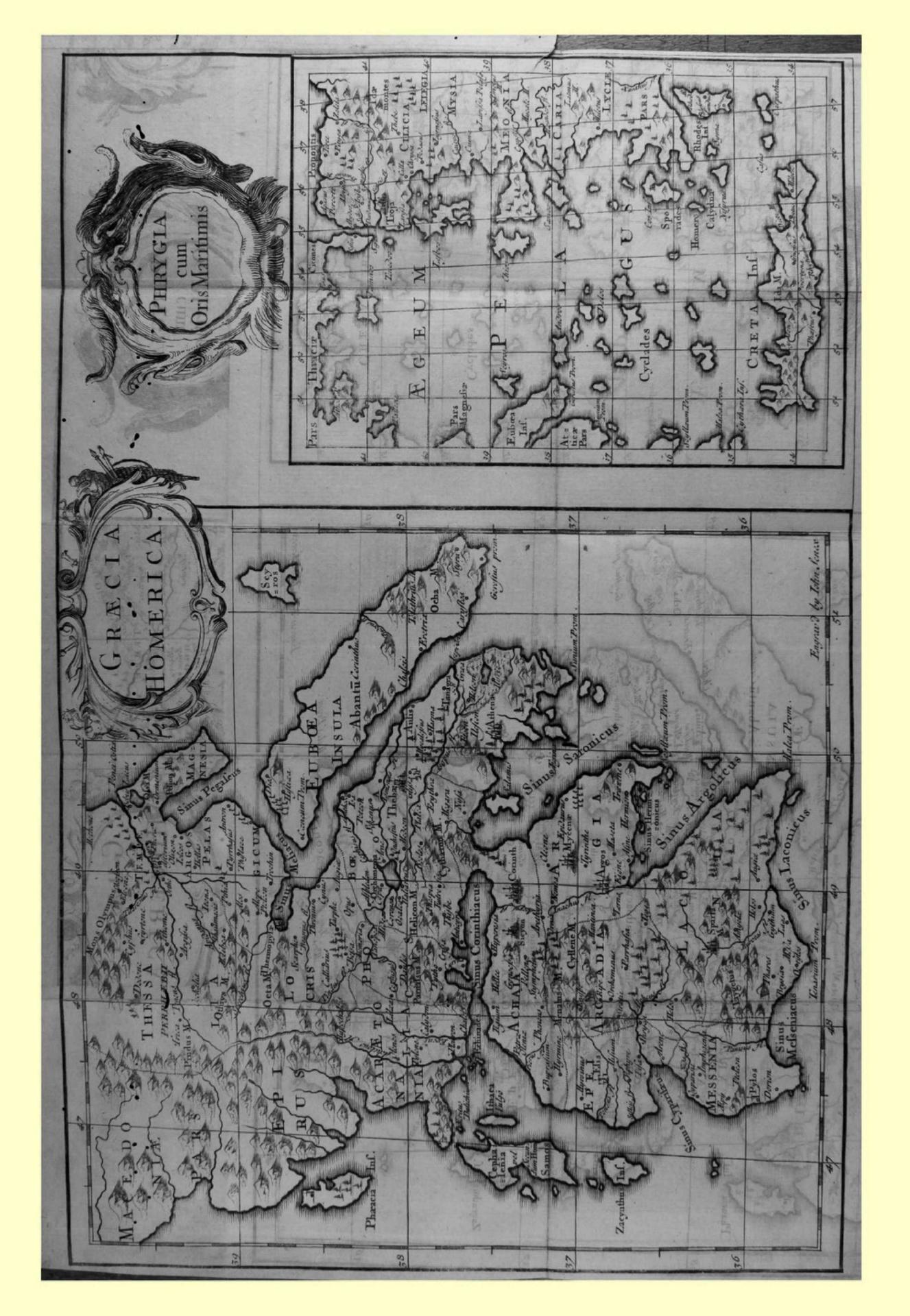


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thor himself generally confines these pictures in miniature). But this has never been done without the best authorities from the ancients, which may be seen under the respective names in the Geographical Table following.

The table itself I thought but necessary to an nex to the map, as my warrant for the situations assigned in it to several of the towns. For in whatever maps I have seen to this purpose, many of the places are omitted, or else set down at random. Sophianus and Gerbelius have laboured to settle the geography of old Greece, many of whose mistakes were rectified by Laurenbergius. These however deserved a greater commendation than those who succeeded them; and particularly Sanson's map prefixed to Du Pin's Biliotheque Historique, is miserably defective both in omissions and false placings; which I am obliged to mention, as it pretends to be designed expressly for this catalogue of Homer. I am perfuaded the greater part of my readers will have no curiofity this way, however they may allow me the endeavour of gratifying those few who have: the rest are at liberty to pass the two or three following leaves unread.







THE THE WAR THE THE

A GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE of the Towns, &c. in Homer's Cata-Logue of GREECE, with the Authorities for their Situation, as placed in this Map.

BOEOTIA, under sive Captains, Peneleus, &c. containing,

AULIS, a haven on the Eubwan sea opposite to Chalcis, where the passage to Eubwa is narrowest. Strabo, lib. ix.

Eteon, Homer describes it a hilly country, and Statius after him — den-famque jugis Eteonen iniquis. Theb. vii.

Hyrie, a town and lake of the same name, belonging to the territory of Tanagra or Græa. Strab. l. ix.

Schænus, it lay in the road between Thebes and Anthedon, 50 stadia from Thebes. Strab. Ibid.

Scholos, a town under mount Cytheron. Ibid.

Thespia, near Haliartus, under mount Helicon. Paus. Bæot. near the Corinthian bay. Strab. l. ix.

Græa, the same with Tanagra, 30 stadia from Aulis, on the Eubæan sea; by
this place the river Asopus
falls into that sea. Ibid.

Mycalessus, between Thebes and Chalcis. Paus. Bæot. near Tanagra or Græa. Strab. l. ix. Famous for its pine-trees. — Pinigeris Mycalessus in agris. Statius, l. vii.

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Harma, close by Mycalessus. Strab. l. ix. This town as well as the former lay near the road from Thebes to Chalcis. Paus. Baot. It was here that Amphiaraus was swallowed by the earth in his chariot, from whence it received its name. Strab. Ibid.

Ilesion, it was fituate in the fens near Heleon and Hyle, not far from Tanagra. These three places took their names from being so seated (Exos, Palus.) Strab. l. ix.

Erythræ, in the confines of Attica near Platæa. Thucyd. l. iii. — dites pecorum camitantur Erythræ. Stat. Theb. vii.

Peteon, in the way from Thebes to Anthedon. Strab. 1. ix.

Ocalea, in the mid-way betwixt Haliartus and Alal-comenes. Ibid.

Medeon, near Onchestus. Ibid.

Copæ, a town on the lake Copais, by the river Cephissus, next Orchomenus. Ibid.

Eutresis, a small town of the Thespians near Thisbe. Ibid.

Thisbe, under mount Helicon. Paus. Baot.

Coronea, seated on the Cephissus, where it falls into the lake Copais. Strab. 1. 1x.

Haliartus, on the same lake, Strab. Ibid. Border ing on Coronea and Platæa. Paus. Bæot.

Platea, between Citheron and Thebes, divided from the latter by the river Asopus. Strab. l. ix. Viridesque Plateas. Stat. Th. vii.

Glissa, in the territory of Thebes, abounding with vines. Baccho Glisanta collentes. Stat.

Thebæ, situate between the rivers Ismenus and Asopus. Strab. l. ix.

Onchestus, on the lake Copais. The grove consecrated to Neptune in this place, and celebrated by Homer, together with a temple and statue of that God, were shewn in the time of Pausanias. Vide Bæot.

Arne, seated on the same lake, famous for vines. Strab. Hom.

Midea, on the same lake Ibid.

to HOMER'S CATALOGUE.

Nissa, or Nysa (apud Statium) or according to Strabo, l. ix. Isa; near Anthedon.

Anthedon, a city on the sea-side, opposite to Eu-baa, the utmost on the shore towards Locris. Strab. I. Ax. Teque ultima trastu Anthedon. Statius, l. vii. Aspledon, 20 stadia from Orchomenus. Strab. l. ix.

Orchomenus, and the plains about it, being the most spacious of all in Bwo-tia. (Plutarch in vit. Sylle, oirca medium.)

Homer distinguishes these two last from the rest of Baotia. They were commanded by Ascalaphus and Ialmen.

PHOCIS, under Schedius and Epistrophus, containing,

Cyparissus, the same with Anticyrra according to Pausanias, on the bay of Corinth.

Pytho, adjoining to Parnassus: some think it the same with Delphi, Pausan. Phocic.

Crissa, a sea-town on the bay of Corinth near Cyrrha. Strab. 1. ix.

Daulis, upon the Cephiffus at the foot of Parnassus. Ibid.

Panopea, upon the same

river, adjoining to Orchomenia, just by Hyampolis or Anemoria. Ibid.

Hyampolis, Strabo. Ibid. Anemoria, Confining upon Locris. Paul. Phoc.

Lilæa, at the head of the river Cephissus, just on the edge of Phocis. Ib.—
propellentemque Lilæam Cephissis glaciale caput. Stat. l. vii.

LOCRIS, under Ajax Oileus, containing,

Cynus, a maritime town towards Eubæa. Strab. l. ix.

Opus, a Locrian city, 15 stadia from the sea, adjacent to Panopæa in Phocis. Ib.



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Calliarus.

Bessa, so called from being covered with shrubs. Strab. l. ix.

Scarphe, seated between Thronium and Thermopyla, ten stadia from the sea. Ibid.

Augia. Tarphe.

Thronius, on the Meliai bay. Strab. l. ix.

Boagrius, a river that passes by Thronius, and runs into the bay of Oeta, between Cynus and Scarphe. Ibid.

All these opposite to the isle of Eubæa.

E U B OE A, under Elphenor, containing,

Chalcis, the city nearest to the continent of Greece, just opposite to Aulis in Bæotia. Strab. l. x.

Eretria, between Chalcis and Gerestus. Ibid.

Histiaa, a town with vineyards, over-against Thessaly. Herod. l. vii.

Cerinthus, on the seashore. Hom. Near the rystos. Strab. Ibid.

river Budorus. Strab. l. X.

Dios, seated high. Hom. Near Histiaa. Strab. Ib.

Carystos, a city at the foot of the mountain Ocha. Strab. Ibid. Between Eretria and Gerestus. Ptolem. l. iii.

Styra, a town near Ca-

ATHENS, under Menestheus.

The Isle of SALAMIS, under Ajax Telamon

PELOPONNESUS, the East Part divided into Argia and Mycenæ, under Agamemnon contains,

Argos, 40 stadia from the sea. Paus. Corin.

Tyrinthe, between Argos and Epidaurus. Ibid.

Three cities lying in this order on the bay of Hermione. Strab. l. viii. Paus. Corinth. Træzene Hermion, \ was seated high, Træzene, i and Asine a rocky coast. — Altaque Træzene. Ov. Fast. ii. — Quos Asinæ cautes. Lu-

can. l. viii. Eionæ was on the seaside, for Strabo tells us the people of Mycenæ made it a station for their ships, L. Viii.

Epidaurus, a town and little island adjoining, in the inner part of the Saronic bay. Strab. l. viii. It was fruitful in vines in Homer's time.

The isle of Ægina, over-

against Epidaurus.

Asinen,

Maseta belongs to the Argolic shore according to Strabo, who observes that Homer names it not in the exact order, placing it with Ægina. Strab. l. viii.

Mycenæ, between Cleone and Argos. Str. Pausan.

Corinth, near the Ifthmus.

Cleone, between Argos

and Corinth. Pauf. Corinth.

Ornia, on the borders of

Sicyonia. Ibid.

Arethyria, the same with Phlyasia, at the source of the Achaian Asopus. Strab. l. viii.

Sicyon (anciently the kingdom of Adrastus) betwixt Corinth and Achaia,

Paus. Corinth.

Hyperesia, the same with Ægira, says Pausan. Achaic. Seated betwixt Pellene and Helice. Strab. l. viii. Opposite to Parnassus. Polyb. l. iv.

Gonoëssa, Homer describes it situate very high, and Seneca Troas. Cares nunquam Gonoëssa vento.

Pellene, bordering on Sicyon and Pheneus, 60 stadia from the sea. Paus. Arcad. Celebrated ciently for its wool. Strab.

Jul. Pol. l. viii.

Ægium, Elice,

Next Sicyon lies Pellene, &c. then Helice, and next to Helice, Ægium. Strab. l. viii. Helice lies on the sea-side, 40 stadia from Ægium. Paus. Ach.



The West Part of PELOPONNESUS, divided into Laconia, Messenia, Arcadia, and Elis.

LACONIA, under Menelaus, containing,

Sparta, the capital city, on the river Eurotas.

Phares, on the bay of Messenia. Strab. l. viii.

Messa, Strabo thinks this a contraction of Messena, and Statius in his imitation of this catalogue, lib. iv. calls it so.

Brysia, under mount Taygetus. Paus. Lacon.

Augiæ, the same with Ægiæ in the opinion of Pausanias (Laconicis.) 30 stadia from Gythium.

Amyclæ, 20 stadia from Sparta towards the sea. Ptol. l. iv. under the mountain Taygetus. Strab. l. viii.

Helos, on the sea-side Hom. Upon the river Eurotas. Strab. Ibid.

Laas.

Oetylos, near the promontory of Tænarus. Pauf Lac.

MES.SENIA, under Nestor, containing,

Pylos, the city of Neftor on the fea-shore.

Arene, seated near the river Minyeius. Hom. Il. xi. Strab. l. viii.

Thryon, on the river Alpheus, the same which Homer elsewhere calls Thryoëfsa. Strab. Ibid.

App. the ancient Geographers differ about the fituation of this town, but agree to place it near the sea. Vide Strab. l. viii.—
Summis ingestum montibus App. Stat. l. iv.

Cyparisie, on the borders of Messenia, and upon the bay called from it Cyparisseus. Paus. Messen:

Amphigenia, — Fertilis Amphigenia. Stat. Th. i.

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near the former. So also, Pteleon, which was built pheus. Ibid. by a colony from Pteleon in Thessaly. Strab. l. viii.

Helos, near the river Al

Dorion, a field or mountain near the sea. Ibid.

ARCADIA, under Agapenor, containing,

The mountain Cyllene, the highest of Peloponnesus, on the borders of Achaia and Arcadia, near Pheneus. Paus. Arcad. Under this stood the tomb of Æpytus. That monument (the same author tells us) was remaining in his time, it was only a heap of earth inclosed with a wall of rough stone.

Pheneus, confining on Pellene, and Stymphelus. Ibid.

Orchomenus, confining on Pheneus and Mantinæa. Ibid.

Thesethree, Strabo tells us, are not to be found, nor their situation as-I signed. Lib. viii. Ripe, Stratie, & prope fin. Enispe, i nispe stood high, as appears from Hom: and Statius, l. iv. Ventosaque donat Enispe.

Tegea, between Argos and Sparta. Polyb. l. iv.

Mantinæa, bordering upon Tegea, Argia, and Orchomenus. Paus. Arcad.

Stymphelus, confining on Phlyasia or Arethyria. Strab. l. viii.

Parrhasia, adjoining to Laconia. Thucyd. l. v. -Parrhasiæque nives. Ovid. Fast. ii.

E L I S, under four Leaders, Amphimachus, &c. containing,

Buprasium near Elis. Stra. The city Elis, 120 stadia rom the sea. Paus. Eliacis ii. l. viii.

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The places bounded by the fields of *Hyrmine*, in the territory of *Elis*, between mount *Cyllene* and the fea

Myrsinus, on the seaside, 70 stadia from Elis. Strab. l. viii. The Olenian Rocks, which stood near the city Olenos, at the mouth of the river Pierus. Paus. Achaic.

And Alysium, the name of a town or river, in the way from Elis to Pifa. Strab. l. viii.

The ISLES, overagainst the Continent of Elis, Achaia, or Acarnania.

Echinades and Dulichium, under Meges.

The Cephalenians under Usysses, being those from Samos (the same with Cephalenia) from Zacynthus, Grocylia, Ægilipa, Neritus, and Ithaca. This last is generally supposed to be the largest of these islands on the east side of Cephalenia, and next to it; but that is, according to Wheeler, 20 Italian miles in circumference, whereas Strabo gives Ithaca but 80 sta-

dia about. It was rather one of the lesser islands to-wards the mouth of the Achelous.

Homer adds to these places under the dominion of Ulysses, Epirus and the opposite Continent, by which (as M. Dacier observes) cannot be meant Epirus properly so called, which was never subject to Ulysses, but only the seacoast of Acarnania, opposite to the islands.

The Continent of ACARNANIA and ÆTOLIA, under Thoas.

Pleuron, seated between Chalcis and Calydon, by the sea-shore, upon the river

Evenus, West of C alcis Strab. l. x.

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to Homer's Catalogue.

Olenos, lying above Calydon, with the Evenus on the East of it. Ibid.

Pylene, the same with Proschion, not far from Pleuron, but more in the land. Strab. l. x.

Chalcis, a sea-town. Hom.

Situate on the East side of the Evenus. Strab. Ibid. There was another Chalcis at the head of the Eveius, called by Strabo Hypo-Chalcis.

Calydon, on the Evenus also. Ibid.

The Isle of CRETE, under Idomeneus, containing,

Gnosus, seated in the plain oetween LyEtus and Gertyna, 120 stadia from LyEtus. Strab. l. x.

Gortyna, 90 stadia from the African sea. Ibid.

LyEtus, 80 stadia from the same sea. Ibid.

Miletus.

Phæstus, 60 stadia from

Gortyna, 20 from the sea, under Gortyna. Strab. Ib. It lay on the river Jardan, as appears by Homer's description of it in the third book of the Odyssey.

Lycastus.

Rhytium, under Gortyna. Strab.

The Isle of RHODES, under Tlepolemus, containing,

Lindus, on the righthand to those who sail from rus and Rhodes. Ibid. the city of Rhodes, Southward. Strab. l. xiv.

Jalyssus, between Cami-Camirus.



The Islands, Syma (under Nireus) Nisyrus, Car pathus, Casus, Cos, Calydnæ, under Antiphus and Phidippus.

The Continent of THESSALY, toward the Ægean sea, under Achilles.

same which was since called Phthiotis). Strabo, I. ix. fays that some thought this the name of a town, others that Homer meant by it this part of Thessaly in general (which last feems most probable). Steph. Byzant. observes, there was a city Argos in Thessaly, as well as in Peloponnesus; the former was called Pelasgic in contradistinction to the Achaian: for though the Pelasgi possest several parts of Epirus, Crete, Peloponnesur. &c. yet they retained their principal feat in Thessaly. Steph. Byz. in v. Panel.

Both on the shore Alos, of Thessaly towards Locris. Strabo, l. Alope, ix. Alos lies in the passage of mount Othrys. Ib.

Argos Pelasgicum (the Trechine, under the mountain Oeta. Eustath. in II. ii.

Some supposed these two to be names of the same place, as Strabo fays; though 'tis Phthia, plain Homer di-Hellas, I stinguishes them. Whether they were cities or regions, Strabo is not determined. lib. ix.

The Hellenes. This denomination, afterwards common to all the Greeks, is here to be understood only of those who inhabited Phthiotis. It was not till long after Homer's time that the people of other cities of Greece desiring assistance from these, began to have the same name from their com-



to Homer's CATALOGUE. 171 munication with them, as beginning of his first Thueydides remarks in the book.

The following under Protesilaus.

Phylace, on the coast of Phthiotis, toward the Melian bay. Strab. l. ix.

Pyrrhasus, beyond the mountain Othrys, had the grove of Ceres within two itadia of it. Ibid.

Itona, 60 stadia from Alos, it lay higher in the land than Pyrrhasus, above mount Othrys. Ibid.

Antron, on the sea-side. Hom. In the Passage to Eubæa. Ibid.

Pteleon, the situation of this town in Strabo seems on the eastern side of the to be between Antron and mountain Othrys.

Pyrrhasus: but Pliny describes it with great exactness to lie on the shore towards Bæotia, on the confines of Phthiotis, upon the river Sperchius; according to which particulars, it must have been feated as I have placed it. Livy also seats it on the Sperchius.

All those towns which were under Protesilaus (says Strabo, lib. ix.) being the five last mentioned, lay

These under Eumelus.

part of Magnesia, confining on mount Pelion. Strai l. ix. Near the lake of Bæbe. Ptol. And Pcgasæan bay. Livy, i. jv plen ifully watered with

Pheræ, in the farthest the fountains of Hyperia Strab.

Glaphyræ.

Iolcos, a sea-town on the and Strab.

A GEOGRAPHICAL TAPLE

Under Philoctetes.

Methone, a city of Macedonia, 40 stadia from Lydna in Pieria. - Strab.

Olyzon. It feems th this place lay near Bæi Iolcos, and Ormenium, fro Thaumacia, In Phthiotis Strab. l. ix. where he say Demetrius caused the inh lus, according tants of these towns to move to Demetrias, on author. Ib. same coast.

The Upper THESSALY.

The following under Podalirius and Machaor

Trice, or Tricce, not far from the mountain Pindus, on the left-hand of the Peneus, as it runs from Pindus. Strab. lib. ix.

Ithome, near Trica. It Oechalia, the situati not certain, somewh near the forementior towns. Strab. Ibid.

Under Eurypylus.

Ormenium, under Pelion, Asterium, hard by Ph on the Pegasæan bay, near and Titanus. Ibid. Bæbe. Ibid.

Under Polyphætes.

Argissa, lying upon the Orthe, near Penev river Peneus. Strab. lib. Tempus. Ibid. IX.

rhæbia, at the foot of Olym- Oloofson, the river T pus. Ibid.

Gyrtone, a city of Per- Elope, South lying der Olympus

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to Homer's Catalogue.

Under Guneus and Protheus.

untainous country, to- also called Eurotas. ds Olympus. Ibid. untains, towards Olym-Ibid.

Titaresius, a river rising ix.

yphus, seated in the inte Peneus. Ibid. 'Tis

The river Peneus rifes Dodona, among the from mount Pindus, and flows through Tempe into the sea. Strab. l. vii. and

the mountain Titarus, Pelion, near Ossa, in ir Olympus, and running Magnesia. Herod. l. vii.



BEDIES BEDIES BEDIES

A TABLE of TROY, and the Auxiliar Countries.

HE kingdom of Priam, divided into eight dynasties.

vhose capital was Ilion.

2. Dardania, under Æneas, the capital Dardanus.

3. Zeleia, at the foot of Ida, by the Æsepus, under Pandarus.

4. Adrestia, Apæsus, Pityea, mount Teree, under Adrastus and Amphius.

5. Sestos, Abydos, Arisbe on the river Selle, Percote,

and Practius, under A

These places lay between Troy and the Propontis.

The other three dynafties were under Mynes, Eetion, and Alteus; the capital of the first was Lyrnes sus, of the second Thebe of Cilicia, of the third Pedasu in Lelegia. Homer does no mention these in the catalogue, having been befor destroyed and depopulate by the Greeks.

The Auxiliar Nations.

The Pelasgi, under Hippothous and Pyleus, whose
capital was Larissa, near
the place where Cuma was
afterwards built. Strab.
l. xiii.

The Thracians, by the side of the Hellespont oppo-

site to Troy, under Acamo and Pyrous, and those o Ciconia, under Euphemus.

The Pæonians from Ma cedonia and the river / iu under Pyrechmes.

The Paphlagonians, der Pylæmeneus. The

A TABLE of TROY, &c. 175

ians, under Odius and rophus. The Mysians, r Cromis and Ennomus. Phrygians of Ascania, er Phorcys and Asca-

and the Mæonians, under les and Antiphus, who bited under the moun-Tmolus.

under he Carians, under Naund Amphimacus, from tus, the farthermost of Caria towards the 1. Herodot. l. i. Mycale, a mountain and promontory opposite to Sa-mos. Ibid.

Phthiron, the same mountain as Latmos, according to Hecatæus.

The Lycians, under Sarpedon and Glaucus, from
the banks of the river Xanthus, which runs into the
fea betwixt Rhodes and Cyprus. Homer mentions it
to distinguish this Lycia
from that which lies on
the Propontis.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.